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THE

MEMORABLE THINGS OF *SOCRATES*,

Written by *XENOPHON*.

In Five BOOKS.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH.

To which are prefixed the

LIFE of *SOCRATES*,

From the FRENCH of

Monſieur *CHARPENTIER*,

A Member of the FRENCH Academy.

AND THE

LIFE of *XENOPHON*,

Collected from ſeveral AUTHORS; with ſome Account of his WRITINGS.

DUBLIN:

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER, in *Eſſex-ſtreet*.

MDCCXLVII.

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To the Right Honourable

JOHN

Lord ASHBURNHAM,

Baron of *Aſhburnham*, &c.

MY LORD,

ONE of the moſt renowned Defenders of Chriſtianity, writing an Apology for the Chriſtians to the Emperors in his Days, addreſſed himſelf to them in theſe Words: TO THE EMPERORS MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS AND LUCIUS AURELIUS COMMODUS, CONQUERORS OF ARMENIA AND SARMATIA; AND WHAT IS YET MORE THAN ALL THIS, PHILOSOPHERS. He therefore, this glorious Champion of the Chriſtian Name, believed, that one might be ſomewhat more than Conqueror, or than Poſſeſſor of a Great Empire. He conſidered in the Kings, to whom he was ſpeaking, their Philoſophy, that is to ſay, their Merit, rather than their Dignity: He conſidered in them that divine Quality, which not only enlightens the Mind, but at the ſame Time directs and tempers the Manners; and which alone makes the Diſtinction between the civilized Nations, and the Barbarians.

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Philoſophy,

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Philoſophy, My Lord, made the firſt Legiſlators, and compelled ſtubborn and unruly Multitudes to ſubmit to their Conduct: It was Philoſophy, that rendered their Prudence always vigilant; their Magnanimity always intrepid; their Clemency always indulgent; and taught them the wonderful Secret, to make themſelves be feared without uſing Violence, and to ſurmount their Enemies without deſtroying them.

Theſe, My Lord, are ſome of the excellent Effects, that Philoſophy produces in the Minds of Men; and which, reflecting on them, have encouraged me to preſume to beg your Patronage; and to inſcribe to Your Lordship the following Sheets, which contain not only the Hiſtory of the Life, but alſo the Doctrine, of one of the Sages, to whom all Antiquity hath allowed the Glory of having been the firſt, who cultivated the true Philoſophy; a Term, which many now a-Days imagine to be only appropriated to, and ſhut up in, Schools; but not of any uſe in the World; and that Philoſophy indeed renders Men fit for Contemplation, but unfit for Action.

But, among innumerable other Examples that might be alledged to prove the contrary, we have a pregnant Inſtance of the Error of that Belief in the Perſon of *Socrates*; who excelled no leſs in the Active, than in the Contemplative Life; who diſſuaded his Hearers from employing their Time in that Philoſophy, which conſiſts in a too curious Search and Inquiry into the Cauſes and Effects of Nature; and exhorted them to the Study and Practice of divine and moral Virtues. This is the true Philoſophy, which he both taught and practiſed, and now firſt appears, in one Body, in an

Engliſh

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Engliſh Dreſs, humbly imploring YOUR LORDSHIP's Protection.

This, MY LORD, is that Philoſophy, that Love of Wiſdom and Virtue, by whoſe Aſſiſtance Your Illuſtrious Anceſtors, for ſo numerous a Succeſſion of Ages, as even from long before the Norman Conqueſt to this Day, performed thoſe Glorious Actions, which are recorded of them in our Engliſh Annals, where the Name of ASHBURNHAM is read with univerſal Veneration, and will continue to be ſo, till Reading itſelf be no more.

To particularize each of them would be a fit Subject for a Panegyrick, not a Letter; be pleaſed therefore, MY LORD, to permit me to take Notice only of that Great ASHBURNHAM, from whom YOUR LORDSHIP is lineally deſcended, and who, on the Plain of *Battle* in *Suſſex*, our Engliſh *Pharſalia*, near *Aſhburnham*, which then was, and ſtill is the Seat of Your Family, too prodigal of his Blood, at the Head of the Bann of his Country, expired in the Defence of, and at the ſame Time with, the Engliſh-Saxon Empire.

Such, MY LORD, were Your Glorious Anceſtors; and what may we not reaſonably expect from Your own more advanced Years, who have given ſuch early Promiſes of treading in their Steps: You, MY LORD, whoſe Virtues confeſs Your Deſcent, and who, well conſidering how poor it is to rely on the Fame of others, already reflect back on Your Great Progenitors the Luſtre of that Glory, which You derive from them. And what too may we not expect from YOUR LORDSHIP's Progeny, in whoſe Veins will flow not only the Blood of the ASHBURNHAMS, but that too of the BUTLERS and

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of the SOMERSET's, that is to say, of three of the most Ancient and Noble Families of *Europe*.

But I fear, MY LORD, that I am launching into a Sea beyond my Depth. *Xenophon* says somewhere, That whoever praises amiss, calumniates whom he would commend: And lest I should fall under that Censure, I beg Leave to do, in some Measure, like the prudent Painter of old, who drew a Veil over what he despaired of ever being able to represent. As for me, MY LORD, I must be content to remain in the Silence of Admiration, after having first besought YOUR LORDSHIP to believe, That no Man can be with more Sincerity, Submission, and Gratitude, than I am,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP's

London, *Nov.* 24. 1711.

Most Humble, and most Obedient Servant,

E. Byssbe.

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PREFACE.

AS the beſt of Laws ſtand in need of being revived; ſo too it ſeems neceſſary from time to time to bring good Books a-new into vogue: And, in my Opinion, by doing ſo, we render a greater Service to the Publick, than by giving the World any new Compoſitions of our own, which have not the ſtrength of Thought, the Authority, nor Elegance of the Works of the Ancients, and which often ſay only the ſame Thing. Beſides, the illuſtrious Actions of the Great cannot be made too publick, to excite in Poſterity an Emulation to imitate them. This hath encouraged me to tranſlate into our Language the following Work of *Xenophon*, which never till now appeared in an *Engliſh* Dreſs.

Now of all the Diſciples of *Socrates*, who have written of him, the two moſt renowned are, beyond all Diſpute, *Plato* and *Xenophon*; and theſe are they alone whoſe Writings are now remaining; the Works of all the reſt having ſuffered the ill Fate of good Books, and left us only a Regret for their Loſs. It is a Piece of good Fortune, that the two moſt eminent have eſcaped the Storm, and that theſe faithful Depoſitaries of the Soul of that Great Man have been ſafely tranſmitted down even to us. It is by their Means, as *Plutarch* obſerves, 3 *Symp.* that the Studious in our Days participate even now of the Banquets and Converſations of *Socrates*, as much as they who were actually preſent at them. It is by their Means that his divine Diſſertations are not vaniſhed away, and that we have ſtill enough left us, by which we may form a Judgment of him ourſelves, if we will not abide by that which all

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Antiquity has made of him before us. *Xenophon*, in these Books, which are intituled, THE MEMORABLE THINGS, has made a Collection of his most remarkable Discourses; and he touches likewise here and there on some of his Actions: He relates only what he had seen, and what he had heard; which ought to render his Testimony the more authentick. He seems to have engaged in this Undertaking, with Design only to vindicate the Reputation of his dear Master from the horrible Calumnies, which his Accusers advanced to destroy him: And methinks he cries out to us in every Page; JUDGE, WHETHER A MAN, WHO HAS DONE, AND WHO HAS SAID THESE THINGS, CAN HAVE BEEN SUCH AS HIS ENEMIES HAVE REPRESENTED HIM? This was the Method *Socrates* himself observed to manifest his own Innocence, when he said, That all his Life he had been doing nothing but preparing his Apology. And this way of justifying him redounds so much to his Glory, that * *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* cannot believe, but that the Design of *Xenophon* was rather to praise than to defend him. But under what Title soever this Work be received, call it a History, or call it an Apology, it is one of the most excellent Pieces of all Antiquity: For, whether we reflect on the great Variety of the Subjects it treats of, or the inimitable Candour and Naturalness, with which the Things are related; whether we weigh the Excellence of the Doctrine, or consider the Greatness of Soul of *Socrates*, we must be forced to acknowledge, That nothing more perfect in its Kind was ever produced in the most happy Ages of Philosophy. And, what crowns all its other Perfections, and gives them the last Ornament, is, that these are not Dialogues invented at Pleasure,

* Ξενοφῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι, ὡς ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ Σωκράτους, ἐγκώμιον Σωκράτους πεποίκεν. Dionys. Hal. τέχνη.

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Pleasure, where Persons are introduced, who could not possibly have seen one another, and who lived not in the same Age; nor of which *Socrates* could be able to say, that Words, which indeed he never thought of, are there put into his Mouth: All that *Xenophon* here writes, was actually said by *Socrates* in the Occasions that are here related. And this is what *Diogenes Laertius* would have us know, when speaking of *Xenophon*, and of this Work, he says; ὃς πρῶτος ὑπομνηματισάμενος τὰ λεγόμενα, εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἤγαγεν, ἀπομνημονεύματα ἐπιγράψας. He was the first who made a Collection of the Discourses of *Socrates*, and published them in the Books, which he intitled, MEMOIRS, or THE MEMORABLE THINGS. Which, taken in a strict Sense, would be false; because long before *Xenophon* had begun this Book, which he did not till after the Death of *Socrates*, *Plato* had composed some Dialogues, in which he brought in *Socrates* speaking: Among others, witness THE LYSIS, which *Socrates* himself had seen, not without complaining of the Freedom that Author had taken in lending him Thoughts and Words: This proves, that *Laertius* could have no other meaning, than that *Xenophon* was the first, who, in his Books of THE MEMORABLE THINGS, had related the real Discourses of *Socrates*, without the mixture of any Fiction, without inserting Excursions of his own, as the other had done before him. It has been also well observed, That this Work justly deserves the Preference above all the other Works of *Xenophon*, on account of its having this particular Excellence and Advantage over them; That one of them is proper only for the Instruction of Kings; another, only for a Captain of Horse; a third, only for a Man who delights in Hunting: But that this is useful to Kings, to Subjects, to Soldiers, to Politicians, to Philosophers, to Tradesmen: In a Word, to all sorts of

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Perſons: And the whole Method of it is ſo judicious, the ſeveral Subjects it handles ſo diſcreetly diverſified and blended together, that there is not in the whole Work any Thing that diſguſts the Learned, or diſencourages and baulks the Weak.

The Opinions differ concerning the Number of the Books of theſe MEMORABLE THINGS: Some allow them to be but Four, and will by no Means admit THE OECONOMICK to make the fifth. Of theſe, among others, are Cardinal *Beſſario*, and M. *Charpentier*, who have tranſlated the Four, and have rejected the Oeconomick; nevertheleſs, I have followed the Opinion of *Galen*, *Leunclavius*, *Caſaubon*, and ſome others, who hold it to be the fifth and laſt of THE MEMORABLE THINGS. M. *Charpentier* alledges ſeveral Reaſons to prove the contrary, which it will not be amiſs to examine particularly, that the Reader may judge of their Validity, and of the Reaſons that have induced me to diſſent from his Opinion. Firſt then he urges, That *Diogenes Laertius* diſtinguiſhes them in expreſs Terms in the Life of *Xenophon*, where that Author ſays, that he compoſed the Books of THE MEMORABLE THINGS, THE ŒCONOMICK and the BANQUET; That *Athenæus* and * *Columella* cite likewiſe THE ŒCONOMICK as a particular Work; and that *Cicero* tranſlated it a-part, and even divided it into Three Books. To this I anſwer, That THE ŒCONOMICK treating of one particular Subject only, and that too of a very different Nature from any of thoſe that are handled in the firſt Four Books of THE MEMORABLE THINGS, came to have its Name from the Subject it treats of, and that it would have been impoſſible to have given a particular Title to any of the other Four Books, becauſe of the ſeveral Subjects

* Deipnoſoph. 1. De Re ruſtica 12.

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jects that are discourſed upon in each of Them: Why then might not *Laertius* call it THE ŒCONOMICK; and *Athenæus* and *Columella* cite it by that Title, even though it made the fifth Book of THE MEMORABLE THINGS. At leaſt, this hath been frequently practiſed in ſucceeding Ages: For how often do we find cited, for Example, *Lactantius de falſa Religione*, *De Origine Erroris*, inſtead of the firſt, ſecond Book, &c. of his *Inſtitutes*. Neither can I ſee what Streſs can be laid upon *Cicero*'s tranſlating it a-part, ſince it treats of a Subject of a different Nature from any of thoſe that are treated of in the firſt Four Books: And as to his having divided it into Three ſeveral Chapters, or Books, the Reaſon of it is evident, becauſe this Book treats of Three ſeveral Parts of *Oeconomy*.

I. Of the Duty of a Miſtreſs of a Family.
II. Of the Duty of a Maſter of a Family.
III. Of Agricultue:

And *Cicero* has divided it after that Manner. But is it reaſonable to infer from all this, that *Socrates* never had any ſuch Conference with *Iſchomachus*, or that he never afterwards related that Conference to *Critobulus* in the Preſence of *Xenophon*? Yet this ought to be proved, before we can allow that Book to be a mere Fiction, as M. *Charpentier* ſtyles it, and would have us believe it to be. But he goes on farther, and affirms, That the fourth Book of THE MEMORABLE THINGS ends in ſuch a Manner, as ſhews that the Author had finiſhed his Deſign. We manifeſtly ſee, *ſays he*, that he lays aſide his Pen; he takes leave of his Reader, and is preparing to do ſo ſeveral Pages before: He recapitulates in a few Words all the chief Points he had been treating of in the preceeding Books, which is an eſſential Part of the Peroration, as *Ariſtotle* obſerves in the firſt Book of his *Rhetorick*. In ſhort, he leaves by his Words, that conclude the fourth Book, ſo ſtrong

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ſtrong an Impreſſion of the Virtue of *Socrates*, that it may be affirmed he has hit the Mark at which he aimed, which in going farther he would have overſhot, or been wide of. Allowing all this to be true; yet why might not *Xenophon* take his Pen in Hand again, and after having given us the Opinion of *Socrates* concerning Juſtice, Piety, Temperance, Gratitude, and many other Divine and Moral Virtues, give us the Inſtructions of that Philoſopher, relating to good Huſbandry, and the prudent Management of our private Concerns in the World? And in this Caſe the Peroration of which M. *Charpentier* takes Notice, ſeems almoſt neceſſary, ſince the Author deſigned to make a Tranſition to a Subject of a quite different Nature from that he had till then been handling.

But M. *Charpentier* farther goes on, and ſays, There are ſeveral other Marks that confirm theſe Works to be different; as the Diſproportion there is between the Books of THE MEMORABLE THINGS and the ŒCONOMICK, which alone contains as much as any two of the others: An Inſtance, ſays he, without Example in this Author, who always divides Books into a very exact Equality. If M. *Charpentier* had turned over his *Xenophon* carefully, he would not have alledged this Argument; for he might have obſerved, that the Eighth Book of that Author's Κύρου Παιδεία bears the ſame Proportion in length to the Second, as THE ŒCONOMICK does to the Fourth of THE MEMORABLE THINGS; tho' neither of them, as he aſſerts of THE ŒCONOMICK, be twice as long as the other. His next Argument, tho' true in Matter of Fact, is not, that I can ſee, of greater Force than the Former; for he there tells us, That in the Books of THE MEMORABLE THINGS, the Dialogues are very ſhort; that one Book contains ſeveral, and that the Author goes all at once, from one

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one Subject to another; whereas THE ŒCONOMICK, on the contrary, is but one single Converſation, and always on the ſame Subject. What of all this? Will this Allegation amount even to a Circumſtantial Proof of its being meerly Suppoſitious? We may, in my Opinion, with equal Reaſon affirm, that the Dialogue in the fourth Book, between *Socrates* and *Euthydemus*, is Suppoſitious likewiſe, becauſe it contains near twice as much as any one of the other Dialogues in the preceding Books. ŒCONOMY, in general, is a Subject of large Extent; many Things are comprized under that Head; and I cannot but wiſh, that *Socrates* had diſcourſed likewiſe with *Critobulus* concerning the other Parts of it; and thus given *Xenophon* an Opportunity of making his Book much longer than it is; ſo many good Inſtructions are contained in it.

But M. *Charpentier* has reſerved his dead-doing Blow for the laſt, and tells us, That to obviate all manner of Doubt of the Truth of what he has been advancing, and to prove beyond all Contradiction, that this Dialogue of ŒCONOMY is a Dialogue purely invented, we need only read the firſt Words of it, which run thus: Ἤκουσα δὲ ποτὲ τῶν Συνεραστῶν καὶ περὶ οἰκονομίας τοιάδε διαλεγομένου. Ἔστι μοι, ἔφη ὦ Κριτόβουλε, and ſo on: which *Leunclavius* tranſlates thus; *Audivi etiam Socratem aliquando de Adminiſtratione rei familiaris hujuſmodi quædam differentem. Dic mihi, mi Critobule, &c.* And *Strebæus* renders *Audivi quondam Socratem, cum de Adminiſtratione rei familiaris in hanc ſententiam diſputaret:* which is as much as to ſay, I have likewiſe formerly heard *Socrates* diſcourſing with *Critobulus* concerning *Oeconomy*, in Words to this Effect, *&c.* Now, ſays M. *Charpentier*, from the very Words which *Socrates* himſelf ſays afterwards, it is as clear as the Day, that *Xenophon* could not poſſibly have been preſent at any ſuch Converſation between *Socrates* and *Critobulus*,

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tobulus, and consequently, that no such was ever held; or, at least, that it is false to affirm, as he does, that he heard it: For soon after the beginning of this Book, *Socrates* speaking in Praise of Agriculture, alledges the Example of the Younger *Cyrus*, who delighted much in it; and enlarging much on the excellent Qualities of that Prince, observes, That he had won the Hearts of his People to that degree, that happening to be killed in the Battle that was given between him and his Brother *Artaxerxes*, his Friends fought around his Body to the very last Gasp, and were all slain by his side, except *Ariæus* only: and this Circumstance of that Battle is likewise related in the first Book of the War of the Younger *Cyrus*. Now how could *Xenophon* have heard *Socrates* say this, having never seen him after that Battle? The whole World knows, that *Xenophon* accompanied the Younger *Cyrus* in that Expedition against *Artaxerxes*. Besides, *Diogenes Laertius* says expressly, That *Xenophon* went away from *Athens* a Year before the Death of *Socrates*; and by the Computation, even of *Xenophon* himself, we find that the *Greeks*, with whom he was, spent above a Year and a half in that Expedition; and as for himself, we know that he returned not to *Athens*, but went to the War in *Thrace*, and thence a second time into *Asia*: How then could he hear *Socrates* speak of the Circumstances of that Battel, since it was fought after their parting, and they never saw one another more? Thus far M. *Charpentier*, from whence he concludes with this severe Sentence on THE ŒCONOMICK, That it is not fit to join a Work, that is branded in front with so palpable a Mark of Forgery, with Books that are received for Historical. In answer to this, I say, That it cannot be denied, but that the Matter of Fact is true, and that *Xenophon* never saw *Socrates* after the Death of *Cyrus*: and consequently never could hear

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hear him diſcourſing of it: But it is very probable, that writing theſe Books of the MEMORABLE THINGS many Years after the Death of *Socrates*, he muſt have made uſe of ſome Memoirs he had taken from the very Mouth of *Socrates*; for it is ſcarce reaſonable to believe, that he retained ſo long in his Memory the very Words of this, or of any of the other Dialogues contained in theſe Books; but that he compoſed them according to the Collections he had made long before: What hurt was there then done to *Socrates*, or to us, when coming to relate that Part of this Dialogue, at all of which he himſelf had been preſent, where *Socrates* takes Occaſion to tell *Critobulus* what had formerly paſſed between *Lyſander* and *Cyrus*, relating to the Subject of which they were talking; what Harm, I ſay, hath *Xenophon* done in adding that remarkable Circumſtance of the Death of *Cyrus*? All Men naturally lay hold on any Opportunity to talk of things that ſo nearly touch them; and of Perſons for whom they have the higheſt Veneration; and he took this Occaſion to relate that glorious Circumſtance, which attended the Death of that great Prince, who had been his Friend and Benefactor. Is this a ſufficient Reaſon to make us deem the whole Book a Forgery, a meer Fiction? I could, but for fear of Profaneneſs forbear to mention ſome Paſſages in Books, whoſe Truth no Man diſtruſts, which nevertheleſs have a more viſible Appearance of Counterfeit: I could name an Author who concludes his Work with the Relation of his own Death and Burial, yet neither M. *Charpentier* nor my ſelf ever for that Reaſon ſuſpected his Works to be ſuppoſitious. In ſhort therefore, I affirm, That tho' we wanted the Authority of *Galen*, *Leunclavius*, *Caſaubon*, and others, whom I mentioned before; yet it is moſt evident, even from the Words that begin this Book, and that are already cited, that it is only a Continuation or Sequel of the former Books:

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Books: *I have likewiſe heard* Socrates, *&c.* Does not this ſhew a Relation to ſomething that is paſt? This Book has no Introduction, no Preface to uſher it in as a different Work from the former; but begins exactly in the ſame Manner, as the Second, Third, and Fourth Books of THE MEMORABLE THINGS do: But it came to have the Title of THE ŒCONOMICK, becauſe, as I hinted before, it treats only of the Management of Domeſtick Affairs; whereas the other Four Books contain many and very different Subjects, and therefore have had no particular Titles given them. And this viſible Connexion between the ŒCONOMICK and the other Books of the MEMORABLE THINGS, is the chief Reaſon that induces me to believe it a Part of them. But be it ſo, or not; the Publick cannot take it amiſs, that I preſent them with a Tranſlation of it, ſince even thoſe who will not allow it to be ſo, grant it to be a moſt excellent Treatiſe. Even M. *Charpentier* himſelf, whoſe Judgment is univerſally eſteemed, and weighs very much in the Opinion of the Learned World, tho' he will by no means admit it to be a Part of THE MEMORABLE THINGS, ſays nevertheleſs, That it is made up of Excellent Maxims and Inſtructions, relating to the Management of a Family, to Agriculture, and the Conduct of our private Affairs. *On ſort*, ſays he, in his Preface, ſpeaking of THE ŒCONOMICK, *de cette Lecture plein de belles Maximes pour le Menage, pour l'Agriculture, et pour la conduite des Affaires.* After this, I hope, it will not be laid to my Charge, that I have confounded what is purely Hiſtorical with what is not ſo; nor lengthened with too little Reaſon, what others have retrenched perhaps with leſs; not to ſay thro' Neglect, or what is yet worſe, an over-fondneſs of their own Opinions.

Before theſe Five Books of THE MEMORABLE

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BLE THINGS, I have put THE LIFE OF SOCRATES, and THE LIFE OF XENOPHON. The first of them is purely a Translation from the *French* of M. *Charpentier*: A Work that has gone thro' many Editions in several Countries, and been universally received with great Applause; even the great Cardinal *Mazarine* thought it not below the Dignity of his Purple, to have his Name inscribed to the second Edition of it; after it had, as I may say, passed the Pikes, and overcome the Censure of an envious and detracting Age. This Book will satisfy their Curiosity, who desire to see at one View the Life of that Philosopher: For the main Design of *Xenophon* having been to justify him from the false Imputations that were laid to his Charge, he made it his chief Care to lay before us his Opinions and his Doctrine, which had been represented so much amiss: But he takes not the least Notice either of his Birth, of his Circumstances in the World, of his Military Exploits, or of the Form of Government under which he lived: He supposeth his Readers to know all this before-hand. Neither does he make the least mention of many Particulars of his Life, which we meet with here and there in other Authors, and that as much deserve to be known, as those he relates. Besides, M. *Charpentier*, that he might give a faithful Idea of this Great Man, has observed some Order in this History, which the ancient Authors have given us so confusedly, that we can hardly discern, which was the first, which the last of his Actions; for they often join Events together, between which nevertheless a great distance of Time intervened: Among others, witness *Eunapius* in *Ædesio*, who there takes the Death of *Socrates* to have been an immediate Effect of the Comedy of *Aristophanes*, called THE CLOUDS; tho' by the Chronology there appears to have been an Interval of above Three and Twenty Years between

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between them. Now *M. Charpentier* has taken Care to fill up this Void, and collecting all the remarkable Adventures of the Life of *Socrates* during that Gap of Time, has ranked the chief Actions in their due Places, according to their Chronological Order, which is juſtified by a Table he has drawn up for that Purpoſe, and which the Reader will find at the End of THE LIFE OF SOCRATES. In a Word, by adding THE MEMORABLE THINGS to the Life of that Philoſopher, the whole Hiſtory of him is contained in this Volume: And I not only hope that ſuch as have already been converſant with *Socrates*, will not be diſpleaſed to ſee him in this Condition; but perſuade myſelf likewiſe, that they who have hitherto been unacquainted with him, will not take it amiſs, that I have given them this Opportunity of coming to the Knowledge of his Life and Doctrine.

It will now be expected that I ſhould give ſome Account of my having ſubjoined THE LIFE OF XENOPHON to that of SOCRATES: And to confeſs a Truth, I can with greater Eaſe give a Reaſon for my having done ſo, than alledge any reaſonable Excuſe for preſuming to undertake a Taſk, ſo much above my Strength, and that would require the Pen of a *Charpentier* to perform it equal to its Worth. The ſafeſt Way to judge of any Thing is by the Effects it produces: The Fruit diſcovers the Nature of the Tree; and in my Opinion, the Excellence of the Doctrine of *Socrates*, will appear the more viſible to thoſe, who reflect, how many of his Diſciples became great Men by following his Precepts and Inſtructions: And ſince the Deſign of this Book is to give a full Idea of that Philoſopher, and of the Doctrine he taught; it would, I think, have been in ſome Meaſure imperfect, without this Inſtance of the wonderful Effects of

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of that Doctrine, in the Perſon of *Xenophon*, who being truly Great on many Accounts, ſeems to me to have excelled even *Plato* himſelf. Beſides, it is a common Cuſtom with thoſe who take upon them to Tranſlate any of the Works of the Antients, to give ſome Account of their Authors: And I was willing to do mine that Juſtice, which others, who before me have rendered into *Engliſh* ſome other Parts of his Works, have omitted to do him. Theſe were the Conſiderations that put me upon collecting out of his own Writings, and from others of the Antients; and upon digeſting into Order the moſt remarkable Actions of his Life. *In magnis voluiſſe ſat eſt*; and the Reader muſt judge, how well I have acquitted myſelf of this adventurous Undertaking.

THE

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THE LIFE OF SOCRATES,

Written in FRENCH by M. *CHARPENTIER.*

SOCRATES was born at *Athens*, in the fourth Year of the 77th Olympiad; which, according to our Account, is the 468th Year before JESUS CHRIST. *Diogenes Laertius* reports his Birth to have happened on the sixth of the Month, which the *Athenians* called *Thargelion*; and *Plutarch* says, *The sixth of* Thargelion *we kept the Birth of* Socrates: *Amyot*, the *French* Translator, renders it, the sixth of *February*; but the Month we call *February* has nothing to do with the *Athenian Thargelion*, which was the eleventh Month of their Year, and generally included a part of *May* and of *June*, tho' sometimes more of the one than of the other: For the *Athenians* began their Year towards the Summer Solstice; and, according to the Method of *Scaliger*, the sixth of *Thargelion*, that Year, happened on the sixteenth of *May*. *Ælian* observes, That the sixth of *Thargelion* was held to be a very lucky Day among the *Athenians*, by reason of several great Victories they had gained that Day over the *Persians*, and particularly for the Birth of our Philosopher. *Diogenes* says also, 8 *Symp.*

That

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That in the Isle of *Delos* there was an Opinion that the Goddess *Diana* was born on that Day.

Parents of *Socrates*.

The Father of *Socrates* was a Statuary, or Carver of Images in Stone; his Name *Sophroniscus*: His Mother was a Midwife, called *Phænerete*: Their Son's Merit has preserved their Names from that Oblivion, to which the Meanness of their Condition had condemned them, and has given them that Immortality, which they could not have acquired themselves. The Corporation, or People of *Attica*, from whence *Socrates* was descended, was called *Alopecæ*: His Tribe was that of the *Antiochides*. We shall see by and by, that in the Accusation exhibited against him by *Melitus*, he is, after the Custom of the *Athenians*, who in their Qualities never omitted to mention the Name of their People, called *Socrates* Son of *Sophroniscus*, of the People of *Alopecæ*.

All this is explained hereafter.

Socrates a Statuary.

Socrates was first brought up to his Father's Trade; and there was to be seen in the Castle at *Athens* a *Mercury* and the *Graces* of his Carving. *Pausanias*, who, among the other Curiosities of *Greece*, makes mention of them, observes, That these *Graces* were cloathed, as it was the Usage of Antiquity to represent them, whether in Painting or Sculpture; the other Custom of making them stark naked not having been introduced till in After-times. *Crito*, it is said, was the Person who took him from his Shop, being surprized at his excellent Genius, and thinking it great Pity that a Man of such Parts should be continually employed in working in Stone, and have the Chissel eternally in his Hand. *Porphyrius*, who was his Enemy, tells us, that in his Youth he was very undutiful to his

Diog. in Socrat.

Apud Theodoretum de Cur. Gr. Aff. l. 1.

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his Father, who would have obliged him to have kept to his Trade; but that it was impoſſible to prevail with him to do ſo; for, whatever Commands he laid on him to mind his Buſineſs, he would be continually running abroad, and blindly followed his own capricious Humours, 'till about the Age of ſeventeen Years he put himſelf under the Tuition of the Philoſopher *Archelaus*. However, this agrees but ill with what *Plutarch* ſays of him; that while he was yet in his Infancy, his Father was admoniſhed by an Oracle, to take great Care not to compel or diſſuade him from any Thing, but leave him intirely to follow the Bent of his own Inclinations, becauſe he had in him a Guide and Conductor that was worth more than ten thouſand Maſters; and that he ſhould only take care to make Supplications for him to *Jupiter* the *Popular*, and to the *Muſes*. And therefore, tho' it will not be of any ſervice to *Socrates* to juſtify him from what *Porphyrius* lays to his Charge, yet we may ſay, there is but little likelihood, that he had ſuch an Averſion to his Trade, or that his Father and he were at odds on that Score, ſince he was Workman good enough to make the Images of the *Graces*, that were carved on the Caſtle-Wall, behind the Statue of *Minerva*, the Guardian Goddeſs of the City: For in thoſe Days *Phidias* flouriſhed, and I cannot believe that in ſuch an Age, they would have made Choice of an ignorant Fellow, or an Apprentice, to employ him in a Work for the Publick. But let that be how it will, it is certain he was a Diſciple of *Archelaus*, who conceived a great Kindneſs for him: This *Archelaus* had been a Scholar of *Anaxagoras*, a Philoſopher of great Repute, who was accuſed of Impiety, for having aſſerted that the Son was nothing but a Maſs of red-hot Iron. Some have been of Opinion that *Socrates*

De Dæm. Socr.

Scholiaſt. Ariſtoph. ad Nub.

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crates too had been a Scholar of his, and that he was not a Disciple of *Archelaus*, till after the Condemnation of *Anaxagoras*.

First Studies of *Socrates*.

Plato *in* Phædone.

Socrates first applied himself to the Study of Nature, after the Custom of the Age he lived in, when only that Part of Philosophy was known. He tells us himself, that he had been very assiduous in that Study, and *Xenophon* assures, that he was very learned. But after having seen the Uncertainty of those Sciences, and the great Diversity of Opinions, on which it was impossible to ground any certain Principles, he gave himself wholly to Moral Philosophy, and, as the *Roman* Orator says, *was the first who brought her down from Heaven to the Relief of Mankind.* He was likewise very skilful in Musick, which he learned not till he was already stricken in Years, believing it no Disgrace to any Man to learn at any Time what he knows not: And he says, that on his Account his Master was reproached for teaching Old Men. This we read in *Plato*, in the same Place where *Socrates* farther says, that he had learnt Rhetorick under *Aspasia*, a Woman of great Reputation in *Athens*, to whom *Plato* ascribes that excellent Funeral Oration, which *Thucydides* gives to *Pericles*: For it was publickly said, *Pericles* did nothing without her Advice; even to that Degree, that she was accused of being the Cause of the War, that then broke out between the *Athenians*, and the People of *Peloponnesus*: And, that for some private Considerations she had persuaded *Pericles* to undertake it, who, afterwards by his Authority and Address, prevailed with the People to give their Consent to it.

Tuscul. l. 5.

In Manex.

Lib. 2. Plut. in Pericle. & Aristop. in Achar. & ibi Interpretes.

In

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In the beginning of this War, *Socrates*, who was then in his 37th Year, carried Arms in the Service of his Country, and gave ſignal Proofs of his Virtue and Courage. The firſt Action he was in, was at the Siege of *Potidæa*, a Town of *Thrace*, where firſt took Flame the fatal Diſſenſions, that were afterwards the Ruin of well nigh all the Countries of *Greece*. This Town was tributary to the *Athenians*, who, fearing that by the perſuaſion of their Enemies it would revolt againſt them, ſent to command the Inhabitants to demoliſh their Fortifications, and to give them Hoſtages: But this boiſterous Way of Proceeding ſerved only to haſten the ill Will of that People, who could not brook to obey ſuch rigorous Orders, but fell into open Rebellion, and received a Gariſon from the *Peloponneſians*. The *Athenians*, reſolving to do themſelves Juſtice for this Revolt, raiſed two thouſand Men, and fitted out forty Ships, having choſen for their General *Callias* and four others. The two thouſand Men marched into *Macedonia*, to join ſome other Troops, who were arrived there a little before, and found them beſieging a Town, after the taking of which, they marched towards *Potidæa*, making in all three thouſand Men, beſides the Troops of the Allies, and ſix hundred *Macedonian* Horſe. The forty Veſſels were joined likewiſe by thirty others, and to the Number of ſeventy ſailed to the Coaſts of that Country. *Ariſtæus*, who commanded in the Town, having Advice of the *Athenians* March, went out to meet them: And the two Armies being come near each other, they joined Battle, and, after a long and obſtinate Diſpute, the *Athenians* put their Enemies to Flight, and purſued them even to the very Gates of *Potidæa*: With much ado *Ariſtæus* got into the Town, but *Callias* was killed in the Action. The victorious Troops,

Socrates at 37 Years of Age carries Arms at *Potidæa*.

Thucyd. l. 1.

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being reinforced by sixteen hundred fresh Men, invested the Place: And though they laid close Siege to it both by Sea and Land, it held out nevertheless two whole Years, and then was compelled to surrender for want of Provisions.

During this length of Siege, we may reasonably believe the *Athenians* did many gallant Actions, as well because they had to do with brave Men, who knew how to defend themselves, as because they made Incursions into the bordering Countries. Mean while *Socrates*, who was in the Army, behaved himself so well, that he made himself be taken Notice of above all others; and the Authors of that Age say, he won the Prize of Valour, but voluntarily yielded it to *Alcibiades*, because he loved him, and was well pleased to excite him to noble Actions by the Encouragement of that Honour. For *Alcibiades* himself confessed, that he owed his Life to him, and that in a certain Action, where he was sorely wounded, *Socrates* alone prevented both his Person and his Arms from falling into the Enemies Hands.

Socrates's Courage Plut. in Sympos. Plutarch. in vita Alcibiad. Diogen. in Socr.

In this Expedition it was, that he spent a whole Day and Night in so profound a Meditation, that he continually kept himself in one and the same Posture, without the least Motion in the World. And, to use the Expression of the Philosopher *Favorinus*, *he stood upright from one Sun to the other, more immoveable than the Trunks of Trees.* *Plato* indeed says, 'twas a usual Thing with him, to stop in the middle of the Streets to meditate: Which gave no small cause of Admiration to such as knew not his Custom: But we no where find, that he ever else continued so long fixed in one and the same Place, nor in so profound an Extasy:

Extasy of *Socrates.*

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Extasy: Whence I believe, that what *Aulus Gellius* says, after *Favorinus*, is not true: He tells us, 'twas a usual Thing with *Socrates* to keep himself thus standing on his Legs, without any Motion, for a whole Day together, and that he did it to enure himself to Patience: For had it been so frequent with *Socrates* so to do, *Plato* and *Diogenes* would never have mentioned this Accident as a Miracle. But see what *Plato* writes of it, on the Testimony of Eye-Witnesses. Having stood still to meditate on something, and not readily finding what he sought, he desponded not in the least, but persisted attentively in the same Contemplation. About Noon the Soldiers got together to look on him, and shewing him to one another said, that he had been there ever since Morning: In the Evening, after they had supped, some *Ionians* drew their Straw Beds near him; having a Mind to observe whether he kept continually standing: Besides, it being the Heat of Summer, 'twas pleasant to lie in the Cool: In short, he passed the Night in the same Posture, and when 'twas broad Day-light, he adored the rising Sun, and went his Way!

Lib. 2. Noct. Att. c. 1.

In Sympos.

His Companions said, they had never known a Man so laborious, or that could, like him, support the Wants and Hardships that are the inseparable Attendants of War. In the Winter, which in those Countries is very severe, he went Abroad with his usual Cloaths, and walked bare-foot on the Ice, when others could scarcely endure the Cold, tho' their Cloaths were warmly lined with Furs.

Plat. ib.

These Fatigues had procured him so robust a Constitution, that it seemed as if Diseases durst not attack him. In those Days the *Athenians* were afflicted with a dreadful Pestilence,

Great Plague at *Athens*. Thucyd. l. 2.

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that dispeopled almost all their City, and made them often think, there was an Understanding between the Gods and their Enemies. While they were hard put to it to defend themselves against the *Lacedæmonians*, who had declared open War against them, and who, to oblige them to raise the Siege of *Potidæa*, were entered into *Attica*, this new Misfortune came to crush them at once, according to an antient Oracle, that threatened them with the *Spartan* War and a Plague together. It not only afflicted them within the Inclosure of their Walls, but was brought to their Camp before *Potidæa*, and seized that Army with such Violence, that, in a very little while, near eleven hundred Men were swept away by the Contagion. But *Socrates* never had the least Touch of it, neither in the Camp, where it was so violent, nor when, after the Surrender of *Potidæa*, he returned to *Athens*, where it was still raging, nor even during the Winter of the fifth Year of the War, when it broke out again with greater Violence than ever. *Diogenes* says, that *Socrates* only, of all the *Athenians*, was never sick of it: Which seems not only an effect of his Sobriety and Temperance, but an evident Token too of the Divine Protection.

Socrates only was never infected.

In Socr. & Ælian. l. 13. c. 27.

The *Athenians*, seeing their City unpeopled, obliged the Citizens to take each of them two Wives, the sooner to repair the Ruins of the Republick. This Law was the Reason that *Socrates* was married to two Women: The first was called *Xantippe*, by whom he had *Lamprocles*: The other *Myrto*, Granddaughter of *Aristides the Just*, and Mother of *Menexenus* and *Sophroniscus*.

Socrates has two Wives.

All Men knew what he suffered thro' the Discord and

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and ill Humours of these Women: Sometimes they both fell upon him, because he laughed only at their Quarrels, and would not concern himself in their Differences so much as they would have had him. But his Patience is particularly to be admired, in that he could suffer the Indignities offered him by *Xantippe*, who made herself renowned for her ill Humours only. For if what we read of her be true, no Man but *Socrates* could ever have lived with her. She flew sometimes into such a madness of Passion, as to snatch his Cloak off his Back in the open Street: Nay, one Day, after having belched out against him all the ill Language that her Spite could invent, she threw a Pot of nasty Water on his Head; at which he only laughed, and said, *It could not chuse but Rain after such a Thunder-clap.* Most of his Friends counselled him to use her as she deserved, and turn her out to the wide World to shift for herself, yet he would never hearken to their Advice, but told them, he was used to hear the Noise she made, as Men who are accustomed to hear the creaking of a Pully, till at length they do not regard it. And when *Alcibiades* threw it in his Dish, that he was in the wrong to be so good-natured to such a Shrew, he smiled and said, Art thou angry with thy Geese when they gabble? But there's something got by them, answered *Alcibiades*, they lay me Eggs, and hatch me young Ones. And my Wife, replied *Socrates*, gets me Children. Another time *Euthydemus* being come to sup with him, *Xantippe*, who was in one of her usual Freaks, after having for some time kept a fearful Scolding, at length threw down the Table, Meat and all. *Euthydemus*, who was not of so patient a Temper as *Socrates*, rose up,

His Patience on their Account.

Diog. in Socr.

Plut.

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and would have been gone: But *Socrates* aſked him, laughing, Do'ſt thou not remember, ſaid he, that when we were t'other Day at Supper at thy Houſe, a Hen, that by chance flew over the Table, cauſed the ſame Accident, and yet we took not Pet at it. We read likewiſe of another Action of this Woman, which tho' ridiculous too, might well have given Offence to *Socrates*: *Alcibiades* having ſent him a great Cake, ſhe threw it on the Ground, and ſtampt it to Pieces: *Socrates*, who looked on, laughed at her Impertinence, and with his accuſtomed Raillery: Well, well, ſaid he, you ſhall eat none of it. He uſed ſometimes to ſay, That he had taken this Devil of a Wife, after the Example of Jockeys, who that they may learn to break all Sorts of Horſes, take firſt in Hand the moſt ſkittiſh and mettleſome they can meet with, becauſe, after having broken them, they think they ſhall eaſily be able to get the better of any other: In like manner, he might be certain, he ſhould live comfortably with the reſt of the World, after having learnt to bear with the Humours of ſuch a Vixen. And to a certain Perſon, who, perhaps to try him, aſked him, Whether it were better to marry than not? he anſwered, Do thou which thou wilt, thou wilt certainly repent of it.

Ælian. l. 11. c. 12.

Diog.

This inmate Misfortune took him not off from the Study of Philoſophy, nor did this hinder him from rendering the Republick all the Services that can be deſired of a good Citizen and a brave Man. 'Twas already ſix Years ſince the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War, and the *Athenians* Misfortunes had not kept them from continually undertaking ſome Enterprize. Even towards the End of this Year,

Socrates's ſecond Voyage to the Army.

Thucyd. l. 4.

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Year, two *Athenian* Captains, *Hippocrates* and *Demoſthenes*, held Correſpondence with ſome *Bœotians*, and by that Means endeavoured to make the chief Towns of *Bœotia* fall into the Hands of the *Athenians*, and ſo to embroil the Affairs of that Country, that their Enemies might be little the better for their Alliance with thoſe People. The Plot was ſo concerted, that on a certain Day, *Demoſthenes* was to come with his Fleet before *Siphæ*, a Town of *Bœotia*, ſituate on the Gulf of *Corinth*, and that was to be put into his Hands: And at the ſame Time *Chæronea* likewiſe was to be delivered up; and while this was tranſacting on one Side, *Hippocrates* on another was to invade *Bœotia*, and poſſeſs himſelf of *Delium*. This Deſign was well enough laid, but miſcarried thro' the Imprudence of *Demoſthenes*, who coming before *Siphæ* ſooner than had been reſolved on, miſſed of taking it; and his Intrigue coming thus to take vent, the *Bœotians* forthwith ſecured themſelves of the Place; inſomuch, that all, who were in the Conſpiracy, ſeeing what had happened, durſt undertake nothing. On the other Hand, *Hippocrates*, who knew not any Thing of the Fault *Demoſthenes* had committed, advanced with an Army, and, on the Day appointed, poſſeſſed himſelf of * *Delium*, and fortified it with all Expedition. The *Bœotians*, who, at the Enterprize of *Demoſthenes*, had taken the Alarm, aſſembled together, and drew near with their Army to that of the *Athenians*, though

The *Athenians* take *Delium*.

Battle of *Delium*.

* Beware to take this Place for the Iſle of *Delos*, as ſome, whom the Affinity between the Names has led into Error, have done; among whom is the *Latin* Tranſlator of *Theodoret*. This *Delium* was a Town in *Bœotia*, remarkable only for a Temple of *Apollo*, built after the Model of that of *Delos*, from whence this Town took its Name. Strab. l. 9.

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though of the eleven Generals who commanded them, *Pagondas* only was for fighting the Enemy: But his Obſtinacy prevailed over the Opinion of others. In the firſt of the Action, the *Athenians* diſordered the left Wing of the *Bœotians*, and forced them to give Way. On the other Hand, the *Bœotians* right Wing, where the *Thebans* were poſted, broke the Ranks of the *Athenians*, with whom they were engaged, ſo that the Fortune of the Day ſeemed as it were equal on both Sides; when to ſuccour his Troops, over whom the *Athenians* had the Advantage, *Pagondas* ſent two Squadrons of Horſe; who having marched round a little Hill without being perceived by the *Athenians*, fell on them unawares; and theſe, believing they had a freſh Enemy to deal with, were ſtruck with Terror, and betook themſelves to flight. Then they were worſted on all Sides, and the *Bœotians* made a great Slaughter of them. *Socrates* found himſelf ſurrounded in the midſt of this Overthrow, but behaved himſelf with a Bravery that convinced his Enemies, that had there been many Men like him in the *Athenian* Army, the *Bœotians* would not have boaſted of that Day's Victory, nor have raiſed a Trophy of the vanquiſhed *Athenians* Spoils. He retreated like a Lion, who, diſdaining to yield, ſtill turns about and faces his Hunters, ſtriking a greater Dread into them, than they into him. For thus it is that the Writers of this Action ſpeak of him: He meaſured back the Field, ſay they, by Inches, while the others fled away on all the Wings of Fear: He but juſt receded from the Fight, and often turned towards the Enemy that he might be ready to fight if any durſt attack him. This Bravery ought not to be reputed fabulous in a Man, who cheriſhed his Honour equal to his Life, which he would not have preſerved from certain Death by an Action that could have favoured in

Socrates's Courage in the Battle.

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in the leaſt of Cowardice. 'Tis obſerved beſides, that in the Battle he ſaved *Xenophon*'s Life, who was fallen from his Horſe, and that he carried him off on his Shoulders: Nay, *Strabo* ſays, he carried him ſeveral Furlongs, 'till he was out of all Danger: And certainly without exaggerating on this matter, we may affirm, that he then rendered an important Piece of Service to the Republick, by ſaving a Citizen, whoſe Writings were to render it eternally glorious.

He ſaves *Xenophon*'s Life.

Geog. l. 5.

But ſcarce were their Tears for this diſaſtrous Day wiped off, when another Misfortune happened to the *Athenians*. *Braſidas*, a *Lacedæmonian* General, and a Man of great Merit, went to the Borders of *Thrace*, and wrought ſo far on the Affections of the People of that Country, that he prevailed with ſeveral Towns to quit the *Athenian* Intereſt. Among others, he got by Stratagem into *Amphipolis*, an important Place, and from whence the Republick drew great Advantages. To oppoſe the Progreſs he made, the *Athenians* ſent an Army into *Thrace*, under the Command of *Cleon*, whom *Socrates* accompanied in this Expedition, which was not more ſucceſsful than that of *Delium*. For *Cleon*, being advanced with his Army near to *Amphipolis*, was attacked by *Braſidas*, who defeated the *Athenians*, killing ſix hundred of them on the Spot. *Cleon* himſelf was ſlain, as he was running away. After this Overthrow the Army returned to *Athens*; and 'tis no where ſaid that *Socrates* went any more to the War: For beſides that he began to grow old, drawing onward to his fiftieth Year; in a little Time after, the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* made a Treaty, whereby they ended their Differences, and ſwore an Alliance for fifty

Socrates's third Expedition to the Army Thucyd. l. 4.

Id. l. 5.

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Years. 'Tis indeed certain, that the Articles of this Treaty were never kept, and that the Allies of the *Lacedæmonians* proteſted openly againſt the Agreement, and made a new League among themſelves. At *Athens* too, *Alcibiades*, who began to be in Favour with the People, laboured all he could to diſſuade them from Peace, and threw things into a freſh Confuſion. However, the two Republicks were ſix or ſeven Years without committing any open Hoſtilities, tho' underhand they ſought all occaſions to prejudice each other. And therefore the Hiſtorian ſays, That conſidering what happened after the Concluſion of that Treaty, a Man muſt want Judgment to think, that it gave any Reſpit to the War. But the Journey to *Amphipolis* was the laſt that *Socrates* made: All the reſt of his Life he continued at *Athens*, without ever going far from thence. Yet he was once at the Solemn Games that were celebrated at the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, and 'tis ſaid too, that in his Youth he went to *Samos* with the Philoſopher *Archelaus*, and that he was another Time at *Delphos*: But excepting this, he always kept in the City, and, as it was ſaid of him, went ſeldomer out of it than the Lame and the Blind. *Plato* makes himſelf ſay thus to him, *You never went out of* Athens, *but to the Games of* Greece, *except only once to thoſe of* Iſthmus, *nor on any other Account, but when you were obliged to go to the Army.* He approved not of thoſe long Voyages that many make their chief Occupation; not that he thought that one People ought to be more Strangers to us than another; ſince being aſked of what Country he was, he anſwered not, of *Athens*, but of the World. He would have had Men more curious to travel within themſelves, than

Plut. in Alcibiade.

Thucyd. l. 5.

Socrates kept much at home.

Plat. in Grit.

Plut. de Exil. Cicer. Tuſc. 5.

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than to rove up and down over unknown Seas and Lands. Thus he pleasantly answered one, who told him he intended to travel, because he was unfortunate in his own Country; That he would be ill advised if he did; because, wherever he went, he would carry with him what made him unhappy at Home. Euseb. l. 5. Præp.

Plato defended against *Athenæus*, concerning the Voyages of *Socrates*.

But his aversion to Travel has given to some occasion to affirm, that he never was in the Army. *Athenæus* is of this Opinion, which he endeavours to make out at large in his fifth Book, where he pretends to prove, That all that *Plato* has written on that Subject is false, and that Philosophers, like him, have not always been over scrupulous to tell Truth: But the Arguments he brings are of so little Weight, that this once, at least, the Philosopher must be allowed to have got the better of the Critick. And indeed, among the other Reasons he alledges, he makes use of the very Words of *Plato* we but now cited, because 'tis there said, *That* Socrates *never went out of* Athens *but once to see the* Isthmian *Games*: From whence *Athenæus* takes Occasion to laugh at *Plato's* bad Memory, who in this Place gives himself the Lie as to all he had said elsewhere of the military Exploits of *Socrates*: But he seems to give sufficient Reason to wonder why he had not read the following Words, *Except only when you were obliged to go to the Army*, which makes this passage prove quite the contrary of what he pretends to infer from it. This gives ground to believe, as *Casaubon* has well observed, either that *Athenæus's* Copy of *Plato* was faulty, or that he had not transcribed the Passage intire in his Collections, according to which, no doubt he composed his Writings, and that hath often led him into Errors. For what likelihood is there that *Plato* would have written so

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rank a Falſhood, in an Age when all the World might eaſily have convicted him of it? What Reaſon could he have to make *Socrates* a Soldier in ſpite of all the *Athenians*, and, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, even of *Minerva* herſelf? Would not this have been to have diſparaged himſelf, and to have taken away all manner of Belief from all that he writ? I know it will be immediately objected, that he hath ſaid many other Things of *Socrates*, that *Socrates* himſelf never thought of, and that this Philoſopher could not forbear throwing it in his Teeth, when hearing one of his Dialogues read, he cried out, *Good Gods! How this young Fellow puts upon me!* I am willing to believe, that he may ſometimes have made him ſay Things of his own Head, and put the Diſciple's Thoughts into the Maſter's Mouth; but to have had the Impudence to lie touching the Hiſtorical Particulars of the Life of *Socrates*, would have been a Thing wholly inſupportable. We daily ſee it is eaſy to lay to a Man's Charge a Thing that he never ſaid: This is the Buſineſs of Falſe Witneſſes: But to undertake to affirm, that he was at ſuch a Place, when at the ſame Time he was publickly ſeen in another, far diſtant from it, is going farther than ever Impudence yet went. This, I ſay, to the end that Expreſſion of *Socrates* may not be ſtretched too far, and leſt the Hiſtorical Paſſages, that we find in *Plato*'s Dialogues, relating to the Life of this Philoſopher, ſhould be involved in the ſame Suſpicion, that we may reaſonably have for certain Diſcourſes that he there attributes to him. The Antients never called in Queſtion his Authority in thoſe Points, and particularly not in that which is now in Debate. * *Cicero, Strabo, Seneca, Plutarch,*

Diog. in Plat.

* Credamus & nos tantis Authoribus, potius quam uni Athenæo, cujus equidem diligentiam in nonnullis, Judicium in multis ſoleo deſiderare. Caſaub. in Athen.

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Plutarch, *Diogenes*, *Ælianus*, all ſpeak of the military Exploits of *Socrates*, as of an indiſputable Truth: I know of none that make any Doubt of it but *Athenæus* only, who ſuppoſes to himſelf that the Trade of War ſuits but ill with the Study of Philoſophy. But allowing this to be true in many, we ſhould nevertheleſs be in the wrong to judge thus of *Socrates*. He was not one of thoſe pedantick and retired Sages, who followed a particular Profeſſion in the Republick, and who ſavoured of the School and Affectation. *He never*, ſays *Plutarch*, *had Benches prepared for his Auditors, he never got up into a Pulpit, he obſerved no fixt Time to read Lectures in Publick, he never appointed any certain Hours to confer, or take the Air with his Friends: But he philoſophized when he was drinking, eating, or diverting himſelf; when he was in the Camp, or at publick Meetings of the Citizens: Nay, even whilſt he was in Priſon, and while he drank the Hemlock:* HAVING BEEN THE FIRST WHO SHEWED, *That the Life of Man may at all Times and Seaſons, even in Afflictions, and in all Sorts of Circumſtances, be univerſally employed in the Practice of Philoſophy.* Which, in a Word, is as much as to ſay, He profeſſed not a vain and uſeleſs Science, like thoſe that went before him, who, after having waſted all their Days in Search of the Firſt Cauſes of all Things, and in debating of the Nature of the Heavens and Planets, were for the moſt Part ſtrangers in their own Country, and to themſelves; nor knew how to conduct their Lives the better for all their Learning. He choſe for his principal Object human Virtues: He believed that the true Study of Man was to learn to know himſelf, and to render himſelf ſerviceable to his Friends and his Country. This was the Philoſophy with which he appeared in the World, and that hindered him from being a uſeleſs Member of the State, and united in his

Of the Studies of *Socrates*.

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his Perſon the two Qualities of good **Philoſopher** and good Citizen: In ſhort, 'twas this he endeavoured to inculcate into his Friends, by letting them ſee the Importance of it, and by expoſing to them the Temerity and Folly of ſuch as are content to be ignorant of themſelves, and who ſearch after Things that are foreign to their Stations, and above them. Which ought not to be conſtrued as as a Fault, as it has been by ſome, who accuſe him of no leſs heinous a Crime, than of being an Enemy to Mankind, for having diſſuaded Men from the Study of Natural Things, and of the Mathematics, and for ridiculing ſuch as were too much wedded to it. For he argued not againſt thoſe Sciences, becauſe he deſpiſed them; as we may well believe, ſince at firſt he applied himſelf to the Study of them with much Eagerneſs, and we find in the fourth Book of the *Memorable Things:* That he even adviſed that Study ſo far, as to be able to draw ſome Advantage from it in Affairs relating to Traffick; but he was of Opinion that it ought not to be purſued any farther: He would have had Men ſet Bounds to their Curioſity; and having diſcovered that Man had enough to do to reflect on himſelf, as to what regards the Regulation of his Manners, and that he might find wherewith ſufficiently to take up his Thoughts in that Subject, he had Reaſon to aſſert, That he ought not to neglect that Study, to perplex himſelf to no Purpoſe, in a more ſublime Contemplation; which, after all, is beyond the Extent of his Induſtry! 'Twere an Injuſtice to blame him for this Doctrine, ſince it is ſo conformable to that of the Wiſe Man himſelf, who aſſures us, that this is an Occupation full of Vanity and Affliction of Spirit; and tells us, *God has delivered up the World*

Cardan. de Socratis Studio.

Anſwer to their Objections who blame *Socrates* for ridiculing the Study of Nature.

Salom. in Eccleſ.

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to the Disputations of Men, not being pleased that they should know the Secrets of his Work. This Doctrine *Socrates* had the good Luck to hit upon, and has delivered it almost in the same Words, in the fourth Book of the *Memorable Things*. It was not therefore without Reason, that he laughed at such Men as had intirely given themselves over to those Sciences, and treated so differently of them, that it was impossible to understand their Writings. To this Purpose we may here relate the pleasant Answer he one Day made to *Euripides*, who asked him his Opinion of the Works of *Heraclitus*: For it is held that this Philosopher was so unintelligible in his Books of Nature, that he thence got the Surname of *Obscure*. What I understand of them, said *Socrates*, seems to me to be good; what I understand not, I am willing to believe is so too; but that Author requires a Reader that knows how to swim: Meaning, That his Book was a Sea, above any Man's Depth, and that Reason was in Danger of being foundered in it. This agrees very well with the Vanity of those Authors, who, being unable to attain to the Knowledge of the Object they had proposed to themselves, adhered to all the idle Notions that their Imaginations presented them, gave us their foolish Conceits for Reasons, and then made a Mystery of their Ignorance. De Dæm. Socr.

And therefore *Plutarch* says, That *Socrates* having taken Philosophy out of the Hands of *Pythagoras* and *Empedocles*, who represented her full of Chimeras, Fables, and Superstitions, and even playing the downright Fool, brought her to treat of Things with Prudence, and to search for Truth in solid and substantial Arguments. Thus we ought to take what *Socrates* said against the Study of the Things of Nature, and not look on him as an ignorant or crafty Fellow, who either blamed what he understood not, or knew not what he blamed. He left the

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the Superfluous, to take the Neceſſary: He quitted the curious Philoſophy, to embrace one that was Solid and Uſeful, that cultivates the two Parts of Man, that acts while ſhe argues, and practices all the Virtues ſhe contemplates. This was his Philoſophy; thus he lived himſelf, and thus he endeavoured to make his Friends live too, exhorting ſome, reproving others, and ſtirring all Men up to the Knowledge of themſelves.

Plato ſays, he was given to the *Athenians* by the Hand of GOD, to let them ſee their Faults, and to excite them to the Study of Virtue. He behaved himſelf in this Employment with a Vigour and Courage truly Heroick. He was not daunted at the Danger to which he expoſed himſelf, by giving Offence to ſo untractable a Multitude; he was not in the leaſt diſheartened at the immenſe Labour of reforming ſo corrupt a People, who began to be already haunted by the evil Genius of the Republick: The Splendor of great Virtues wounded their Eyes, and an honeſt Man never failed of Enemies and Calumniators among them. All Men know the Anſwer of a certain *Athenian*, who giving his Vote againſt *Ariſtides*, confeſſed ingenuouſly, that he knew him not in the leaſt; but voted to have him baniſhed, only becauſe he heard him every where called *Ariſtides the Juſt*. And *Philip* of *Macedon*, who ſome time after found out the Blind ſide of the *Athenians* better than any Man, compared them to the Statues of *Mercury*, that have nothing great and extraordinary but the Mouth and Nudities. But to return to *Socrates*. He made it his chief Buſineſs to ſearch into the Vices of Perſons of all Conditions, and expoſed them

Apology.

How *Socrates* employed his Time,

Plut. in Ariſtide.

Apud Steb. Ser. 4.

Diog. in Socr.

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them without Fear. He told them, they neglected the chief Part of Man, (he meant the Soul) and set their Hearts only on Riches, and other uſeleſs Things. He wondered that a Sculptor ſhould apply his whole Mind to make a Stone reſemble a Man; and that a Man ſhould trouble his Head ſo little not to be like a Stone. He openly deteſted him, who firſt divided the Profitable from the Honeſt, and taught that Gain was not confined to the Bounds of Virtue; becauſe he held that Doctrine to be the Source of all Crimes. He ſaid, that Parents who heap up great Riches for their Children, and who take no Care to teach them to be honeſt Men, are like thoſe Perſons, who keep Horſes high fed, without giving them Exerciſe: The Horſes grow very fat, but will at length be of no Service to them; becauſe the Perfection of a Horſe conſiſts not in his being in good Caſe, but in being well managed, and in his Courage. On the contrary, ſaid he, a Father who is careful to have his Children inſtructed as they ought, whatever Eſtate he leaves them, is ſure to leave them rich enough: For a little ſuffices to content a well-diſpoſed and well-diſciplined Mind; but a diſorderly and intemperate Perſon never thinks he has enough. Sometimes he ſaid, that he believed the Gods laughed at Mankind, conſidering with what eagerneſs Men labour after Follies and Trifles; though nevertheleſs, there be not any Quality, to which they more generally pretend than to Prudence: Which, after his uſual Way, he explained by this Example. If all the People of *Athens*, ſaid he, were aſſembled in the Theatre, and that the Shoemakers were commanded to ſtand up, they would riſe immediately, and the others would

Sayings of *Socrates*. Idem.

Cicer. de Legib. 1.

Xenoph. in Epiſt. ad Crit.

Apud Stob. Ser. 96.

Idem Ser. 23.

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would keep ſitting in their Places: If the ſame Command were given to the Farriers, Taylors, or any other Trade, they would do the like in their Turns; but if all the prudent and honeſt Men were bid ſtand up, every Man would then get on his Legs, becauſe all Men imagine themſelves to be ſo. In his Arguments he often made uſe of ſuch Compariſons: Nay, he took them ſometimes from the meaneſt Occupations, to the End, he might be the better underſtood by his Auditors; and this was often flung in his Teeth by *Critias* and *Craticles*: But *Alcibiades* compared theſe Diſcourſes to certain Boxes that were then in faſhion, whoſe outſide bore the figure of ſome Satyr, and when they were opened, diſcovered the Images of Gods and Goddeſſes; becauſe the Arguments of *Socrates*, which ſometimes, to judge of them according to outward Appearance, ſeemed frivolous, being conſidered to the Bottom, were found to be full of an extraordinary Wiſdom, and to contain in all their Parts the lively Image of Virtue.

Xenoph. de Memorab. l.
Plat. in Conv.

Vide etiam Ælianum, l. 12. c. 25. var. hiſt.

Diog.

He firſt diſcourſed in the Shops and publick Places of the City, where ſuffering himſelf ſometimes to be tranſported with the Heat of Action, ſome pulled him by the Cloak, while others laughed at him, notwithſtanding which, he never broke off his Diſcourſe. Nay, once when an inſolent Fellow had given him a great Kick, and his Friends adviſed him to reſent that Indignity, he ſaid, And if a Horſe had kicked me, would you have me ſue him for it? His Moderation was Proof againſt all Sorts of Injuries, and that Virtue had formed ſo great a Habitude in his Soul,

Patience of Socrates in ſupporting Affronts.

Cicero. Tuſcul. l. 3. & Ælian. lib. 9. cap. 7.

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Soul, that his Wife, who was never enough his Friend to tell Lies in his Behalf, said publickly, that she never saw him come Home with a Countenance more moved or concerned, than when he went Abroad. *Plutarch* says, that he who kicked him, conceived so great a Regret for that rash Action, that he went away and hanged himself. And *Diogenes* relates, that a Tradesman, to whose Shop *Socrates* used to go, lent so attentive an Ear to his Reasonings, that he became a very good Philosopher, and writ three and thirty Dialogues.

In the Treatise, how to nourish Children.

The comick Poets, who according to the Licentiousness of that Age, rallied impunibly upon the Theatre the greatest Men of the Republick, and who sometimes gave to a Buffoon the Name and Look of a General, failed not to take him to Task. Sometimes they made a Jest of his Discourses and Maxims: Sometimes they derided him for his Sobriety and Way of Life: Some laughed at his Dress, and at his going generally Barefoot; while others, yet more malicious, imputed to him the Crimes he detested, in order to render him at the same Time ridiculous and odious, as *Eupolis*, who in one of his Comedies, made him commit a Robbery. But *Aristophanes* composed a whole Play upon him, which is still extant, and where he seems to have raked together all the Spight and Venom of the most inveterate Satire. He represents to us a miserable Debtor, who, desiring to cheat his Creditors, comes to *Socrates* to learn to plead against the Payment of his Debts, and who by Reason of his great Age being incapable to be instructed himself, brings his Son to supply his Place:

Ameipsias, a comick Poet writes against Socrates.

Diog.

Apud Scholiast. Aristoph.

THE CLOUDS.

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Place: But the young Man comes back so ill taught from that School, that he beats his Father the first Time he meets him; and we are given to understand that he has learnt nothing but Subtleties, to prove that he had Reason to commit so enormous a Crime. In all the Scenes where *Socrates* is brought in, he makes him say a thousand Impieties: And, throughout the whole Play, represents him as a vain-glorious Man, full of Self-conceit: And at length he lays out all his Skill, to leave an ill Impression of his Doctrine and Manners. It was a strange Spectacle to see the best of all the *Grecians* thus impudently ridiculed on the Stage by a foul-mouthed Poet, whom certainly all the Licentiousness of the *Bacchanals* could not excuse. *Socrates* was that Day at the Comedy, contrary to his Custom, for he never used to be present in those Assemblies, except when any new Play of *Euripides* was to be acted: And 'tis observed too, that once he had not Patience to see one of them, in which an Actor had said something that tended to the Encouragement of Vice, but that he went out immediately, without having Regard that by so doing he might injure the Reputation of his Friend, whom, 'tis said, he assisted in the Composition of his Tragedies. And what drove him thence at that Time, was what had always driven him out of the Theatre: For he had an extream Aversion for all the insolent and extravagant Expressions of the comick Poets; and his most intimate Friends could never reconcile him to that Diversion: But having had Notice of the Design of *Aristophanes*, he went thither on Purpose, and never shewed a greater Calmness of Temper than on this Occasion, when he had so much Reason

Ælian. lib. 2. cap. 23.

Diog.

Idem.

Ælian ibid.

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Reaſon to take Offence. He ſaid to thoſe who were near him, that he fancied himſelf to be at a great Feaſt, where the Company pleaſantly diverted themſelves with rallying him: And ſome Strangers being in pain to know who this *Socrates* was, he roſe up from his Seat, and continued ſtanding during the whole Action.

Plutarch in the Treatiſe how to nouriſh Children. Ælian. lib. 1. cap. 13.

Moſt of the Antients agree, that *Ariſtophanes* had been gained to write this Comedy by *Anytus*, who deſigning to accuſe *Socrates*, and being apprehenſive of the Innocence and Merit of ſuch an Enemy, had a mind by this Satire to feel the Pulſe of the People, that he might judge how they were likely to receive his Calumny. Some nevertheleſs have been of Opinion, that *Ariſtophanes* writ this Play at no Man's Inſtigation; but only according to the Cuſtom of the antient Comick Poets, who abuſing the Liberty the Publick gave them, produced upon the Stage whomever they thought fit, and whoſe chief Spight was ſtill aimed at the Philoſophers. To make this good, they alledged the Example of *Crates*, who took the like Method to ridicule the Philoſopher *Hippo*; and of *Diphilus*, who likewiſe writ a whole Play againſt *Bædas*, the Philoſopher, which nevertheleſs occaſioned no Enmity between them. But others believed this to be a particular Revenge in *Ariſtophanes*, who had a ſecret Grudge againſt *Socrates*, becauſe *Archelaus* King of *Macedon* had a greater Value for this Philoſopher than for him.

Ælian. ibid. Diog. & Schol. Scholiaſt. ad verſum, ἂς ὅσει πτίγινς Interpretes, in argumento

The Opinions likewiſe are divided concerning the Succeſs of this Play. *Ælian* ſays it was received with

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with great Applauſe, that the Newneſs of the Subject at firſt ſurprized the *Athenians*, but that the Envy, which they naturally bore to great Men, made them like the Invention, inſomuch that having clapt with their Hands a long Time in Honour of the Poet, they aloud commanded the Judges to give him the Prize. However all the Interpreters of this Comedy ſay, on the contrary, that it was not eſteemed, and, that *Ariſtophanes* bore not away the Prize which he thought he had deſerved: Whether it was that *Alcibiades*, whom the Poet ſeems to rally likewiſe in ſeveral Parts of the Play, made uſe of his Credit to ruin it, as ſome affirm; or that indeed there were ſome Faults in it, which obliged the Author to re-touch thoſe Places, and to put it into the Condition in which it now is. And indeed, there is a Paſſage in it, where he complains of the ill Reception it met with, the firſt Time it was acted. It may be ſaid that the great Succeſs of which *Ælian* ſpeaks, happened at the ſecond Repreſentation, which was the Year following: But beſides, that 'tis almoſt impoſſible that a Poem that was not well-received when it was new, and of which they had even conceived an ill Opinion, ſhould raiſe up its Reputation ſo glorioufly, there are ſome Authors who aſſure, that it was worſe received the ſecond Time than the firſt; inſomuch that *Ariſtophanes* never durſt let it be acted more. And this, in my Opinion, was the Reaſon (ſuppoſing *Anytus* to be the Author of this Deſign, as 'tis generally believed he was) that he would not then venture to purſue *Socrates* more openly, finding that the Voice of the People had not favoured his Poet. Otherwiſe, I cannot imagine what Reaſon he could have to let ſlip the two or three and twenty Years, that paſſed from the time of that Comedy

In Parabaſi.

See the Chronological Table where this plainly appears.

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Comedy to the Accusation: I cannot see what could induce him so long to defer an Enterprize, the Attempt of which would have been favourable to him: And if what *Ælian* says be true, he ought, as soon as the Play was ended, to have dragged *Socrates* before the Judges; for he would easily have triumphed over an Enemy already half overcome; and they who had but just given the Prize to *Aristophanes*, could have no Excuse not to condemn *Socrates*. This too may suffice to make us observe yet another Mistake of *Ælian*, and of some other Authors, who say, that *Melitus*, who was afterwards the Accuser of *Socrates*, had as well as *Anytus*, stirred up *Aristophanes* to write this Comedy against him; for *Melitus* must of Necessity have been at that Time but a Child, seeing 'tis said in the *Eutiphron*, that when he accused *Socrates*, which, as we have said, was three and twenty Years after that Play was acted, he was still a young Man. Thus *Diogenes Laertius* distinguishes this very well, and says, that at one Time, *Anytus* prevailed with *Aristophanes* to write against *Socrates*, and at another stirred up *Melitus* to accuse him. Be it how it will, we may question the Design of this Poet, and whether his Play succeeded; but we cannot call in doubt the Generosity which *Socrates* shewed on this Occasion. This is a Truth which all the Authors confirm; he regarded this dangerous Invention of *Aristophanes* with Contempt, and was no more moved at it, than at an other Extravagance of some young Men, who endeavoured to fright him one Night as he was coming home from Supper in the Town. They lay in wait for him in the Way by which he was to pass, having masked themselves like the *Furies*, and dressed themselves all over in the most terrible Manner they could invent. As he passed by them they appeared all on a sudden with

Ælian. lib. 2. cap. 29.

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with Torches in their Hands, thinking to ſtrike *him* half dead with Fear at the Sight of this horrible Object; but they were much ſurprized to ſee *him* ſtand his Ground, and ſpeak to them as unconcernedly, as if he had been diſcourſing in the *Academy* or in the Lyceum. No doubt their Aſtoniſhment was greater than they thought to have made *his*. Thus too *Ariſtophanes* and his Party found themſelves miſtaken, thro' the Conſtancy of *Socrates*, and *only* furniſhed him with an Occaſion to render himſelf more illuſtrious, by the very Deſign which *they* had concerted to ruin his Reputation. He alſo ſaid, that *we* ought to take in good Part the Invectives of the Comick Poets, becauſe if they *tell* Truth of us, they teach us to mend our Faults; if Lies, there is no Reaſon to take Offence at *them*. This made him ſo little regard the Affronts he received from *Ariſtophanes*: His Conſcience reproached *him* not with the Crimes of which the other accuſed him: And in *this* Senſe it was, that he once anſwered one of his Friends, who aſked him, if he thought not himſelf abuſed by ſome injurious Words that a Man had ſpoken of him? Not in the leaſt ſaid he, for what he ſaid of me is not true: And at another time, when he was told likewiſe, ſuch a one has ſpoken ill of you; perhaps, anſwered he, he has never learnt to ſpeak well. In a Word, never any Man valued Slanders ſo little as *Socrates*, which plainly ſhews, whether or no he was ſubject to Paſſion, of which he was accuſed by his Enemies, and namely by *Ariſtoxenus*, who writ his Life ſoon after his Death, and from whom *Porphyrius*

Diog. in Soc.

Idem.

Idem.

Againſt ſuch as ſay that Socrates was apt to be paſſionate.

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rius copyed all that he said against *Socrates*. For where are these indecent Actions that might have escaped him in those Occasions; What Liberty did he ever indulge to his first Transports, of which he needed to have been ashamed or repent afterwards? To see himself exposed upon a Stage, and to be the first that laughed at it; at another Time to have taken a Box o'th' Ear, without resenting it otherwise than by this Raillery, That it was a Misfortune for a Man not to know when he ought to wear a Head-piece: To have digested a Kick with the like Patience: To have suffered all his Life the ill Humours of a cross-grained Wife: Are these Marks of a fiery Temper? Certainly, if after this we say, that such a Man is of a violent Nature, we shall, tho' we do not design it, speak in his Praise: For Patience is no very great Virtue in a cold and sluggish Temperament, it being for the most Part its Lumpishness alone that hinders it from being moved. But *Socrates* having been so cold in the midst of Injuries, and being of a humour so easy to take Fire, is a sure Token, that he had gained over himself a Victory, which Conquerors have sometimes found more difficult, than those by which they have subdued whole Provinces. Thus *Seneca* and *Plutarch* teach us, that when *Socrates* was angry he spoke least of all, most seldom, and with less Vehemence. 'Twas easy to discover that he was angry, but it was as plain too that he was Master of his Passion. Thus it was that he governed himself in Occasions so slippery: 'Twas in vain for the Tongues of his

De illo Aristoxeno vide Suidam. Theodoret. 12. de Curat.

Græc. Affect.

Seneca de ira. lib. 3. c. 21.

Seneca de ira. l. 3. c. 23. and Plutarch in the Treatise how to restrain Anger.

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Enemies to vent their Gall againſt him; the Bitterneſs affected him not; and this Perſecution did not hinder him from perſiſting always in the bold Cenſure which he had Orders to execute. He was given to this People as a great Incentive to awaken them from the ſcandalous Luxury in which they were lulled aſleep; and the more they acted contrary to his Advice, the more he thought it his Duty to re-double his Vigilance.

Plato in Apolog.

He ſeemed, ſays *Libanius*, to have been the common Father of the Republick, conſidering the Care he took of all the Citizens: But his chief Care regarded the young Men; for ſeeing it very difficult to reform the old, and to make Perſons, who in ſome Meaſure had a Sort of Reſpect for the Errors in which they were grown grey, change their Way of Life; he conſecrated all his Labours to the Inſtruction of the Youth, that he might ſow the Seed of Virtue in a Field which ill Seeds had not rendered barren: He endeavoured to make himſelf Maſter of a Place that was not yet taken up: He prevented the Ill, that he might not have the Trouble of driving it away. For this Reaſon he ſeemed chiefly to frequent the Young rather than the Old, though he gave his Inſtructions indifferently to Men of all Ages. He ſpoke in publick for the Benefit of all. 'Tis indeed true, that he had a particular Kindneſs for the younger Sort, whoſe Affection he ſtrove to gain, that he might keep them from the dangerous Companies to which thoſe Years are always expoſed; eſpecially in that Age and in that Country, where the worſt of Viceswere then reigning, and where the Corruption of Manners was ſo great, that the Youth were ſcarce permitted to be chaſte. All Men know what

Socrates's Care of the Youth of Athens.

Liban. in Apol.

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what that criminal Flame was, that had ſet all *Greece* on Fire, and which, in the Language of our Saints, had changed the Order of Nature. *Socrates*, who reprimanded the leaſt Abuſes, would have been to blame himſelf, had he left this raging Diſeaſe without Remedy. However, ſeeing he could not ſtop the Courſe of it, neither by the Severity of the Laws, not being a new *Solon*, nor by his private Authority, (for to that End he would have wanted the Strength of *Hercules* or of *Theſeus*) and beſides not being certain that he ſhould be able to reclaim them by his Reaſonings, if he declared himſelf openly againſt this Vice, he bethought himſelf of another Method, which was to do, in Appearance, like others, that he might the more effectually inculcate his Philoſophy into the Minds of the Youth, and win them inſenſibly from the Practice of ſo infamous a Commerce. Thus he proteſted aloud, that he loved the handſome young Men, he frequented aſſiduouſly the Places where they learnt their Exerciſes, he followed them inceſſantly, and to make them virtuous, behaved himſelf towards them, in the ſame Manner that others were wont to do to corrupt them. Mean while his Enemies took Advantage of this Appearance of Guilt to accuſe him of corrupting the Youth; and ſuch as have not been Friends to his Memory, have given Credit to their Accuſations without any Reaſon. For who can ſo much as doubt of it, after the ſevere Reprimands, which in the firſt Book of the Memorable Things, he gives to *Critias* and *Critobulus*, and after what is ſaid to-

Ad Romanos 1.

Maxim. Tyr. Ser. 9.

The Love of Socrates.

Refutation of thoſe who believed amiſs of the Love of Socrates.

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wards the End of the Banquet of *Plato*, by the Mouth even of *Alcibiades* himself? I allow that Relation to be set off with the Eloquence of *Plato*; but it cannot be denied that the Ground of it is true. And is it not certain what the same Author says in the Apology, that if *Socrates* had been a Corrupter of the Youth, some Fathers or Brothers of those he had corrupted, would have become Parties against him at his Trial, and ascertained by their Evidences what the Accusers advanced without Proof? In Occasions like this, where the least Enemies of a Person accused fall foul upon him, and where Men often revenge themselves of Injuries that are almost forgot, would there not one Person have been found, whom the Remembrance of so never to be forgiven an Affront would have made Complaint? And if it be said, that the Fear of defaming their own Families might decline them from doing so, and that 'tis more Disgraceful to complain of the like Outrages, than to stifle them in Silence, yet at least it must be granted, that Persons, whom this Consideration keeps in Awe, sollicit under-hand against him whom they will not openly attack, and that under other Pretences they assist in procuring the Punishment of the Wrong they dissemble. Yet nothing of this Nature was seen in the Affair of *Socrates*. They were the Fathers and the Brothers of those whom he had most frequented, who appeared most zealous to save him: They offered their Estates for him, they wept for him before the Judges, and their earnest Recommendations would have procured him to be acquitted, if he himself had not neglected his own Defence. This proves as plain as the Light, that this Imposture of his Accusers is one of those gross Calumnies which do Wrong to none, but the Judgment of such as give Credit to them; and to accuse *Socrates* of Impurity, is what the Rhetorician *Hermogenes* brings as an Example of

In Apolog.

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an incredible Propoſition. 'Tis in vain to go about to juſtify Converſations, of which the Fathers feared their Sons would be deprived: Nor ought we to ſeek Excuſes for an Affection ſo pure and ſo innocent as that of chaſte and untainted Minds, which has nothing in View but the real Good of the Perſon beloved, and which far from being an infamous Flame of unchaſte Deſire, that pollutes and ſullies the Objects on which it fixes, is a holy and heavenly Fire, that purifies and enlightens all whom it approaches.

Socrates, enemy of the Sophiſts.

This ardent Affection which *Socrates* had for young People, was the Cauſe, that as he was zealous for the honour of their Bodies, and endeavoured to retrieve them out of the Hands of the Voluptuous, ſo likewiſe he laboured to preſerve their Minds from the Doctrine of ill Maſters. There was at that Time in *Greece*, a great Number of certain Sophiſts, who profeſſing to teach the Sciences, drew away the Youth, and took large Sums of Money for the Smoke they ſold them. They promiſed no leſs than to teach them Geometry, Arithmetick, Aſtronomy, natural Philoſophy, Eloquence, or the Art of Perſuaſion, and Politicks, or the Art of well-governing States. But all thoſe great Promiſes ended in ſome ſlight Notions of theſe Things, and in tedious Diſputes, in which they exerciſed their Diſciples, to teach them to prove all they thought fit to affirm, upon any Subject whatſoever. For this was their great Secret, their chief Deſign being to dazzle the Weak, and to aſtoniſh the Ignorant. All who were under their Care, came out

Plut. in Quæſt. Plat.

Vanity of the Sophiſts.

Plutarchus in Quæſt. Plat.

Clemens Alex. Strom. at. 1.

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of their Schools, filled with Pride and a vain ſatiſfaction of their own Studies: They thought they had penetrated to the Bottom of the Sciences, they believed themſelves invincible in Argumentation, and ſought all Occaſions of Diſpute, to make a ſhew of their Subtilties. Heaven is not more diſtant from Earth, than this ſwelled and arrogant Doctrine is from true Philoſophy. 'Twas the Deſtruction of the Mind to be taught by theſe Sophiſts; and it was obſerved, that *Protagoras*, who was one of the moſt famous of them in his Time, had, in the ſpace of forty Years that he had impoſed upon *Greece* by following that Profeſſion, heaped up more Riches than *Phidias* the great Statuary, and ten others like him, had been able to gain altogether by their Trade: That he never had a Scholar whom he ſent not away more impertinent than he was when he came under his Care. And the Truth is, they concerned themſelves but little about the Improvement of their Diſciples; they conſidered only their own Profit, and Gain alone was the Spring that ſet them in Motion. An Antient ſays very well, that they were made to follow every where by the Means of Money, as we make a hungry Sheep follow us when we offer it a handful of Herbs. *Socrates* perceiving the Avarice and Falſhood of theſe mercenary Souls, who ſo baſely betrayed thoſe who abandoned themſelves to their Conduct, endeavoured to lay open to the Eyes of all the World the Emptineſs of their Sciences, that he might ruin theſe Sophiſts in the good Opinion of the People: He uncovered the Precipice to hinder all from throwing themſelves in. Sometimes he took to Taſk thoſe who had ſtudied under them, and convinced them ſo fully of their Weakneſs, that

Plato in Menone.

Liban. in Apolog. Socr.

Socrates oppoſes the Sophiſts.

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that they were compelled to acknowledge that they knew nothing, and that their Masters had imposed upon them, in having given them, instead of the solid and the true, nothing but the seeming and superficial. Sometimes he fell on the Masters themselves, and feigning not to know what he was not ignorant of, he made them insensibly confess, that they were ignorant of what they believed they knew very well. Sometimes he reproached them with teaching for Gain, which he proved was an Employment unworthy of a Man of Honour. *Plato* represents him to us very often engaged with them, and our Author too furnishes us with some Examples of it. 'Tis pleasant to observe how artfully he overthrows their Doctrine and their Maxims; how evidently he confutes all their false Reasonings, and how gracefully and gently too he intermingles that innocent Raillery, with which he mortifies their Arrogance. This could not be done without drawing upon himself the hatred of these Sophists, who, not sparing one another when their private Interest was concerned, would give no Quarter to this dangerous Adversary, who seemed to have undertaken their general Overthrow: But it not being safe for them to attack him generously, they made use of Wiles to supplant him, and prevailed themselves of the ill Reports that were raised against him, that they might revenge themselves of him with greater Safety, of which he complains in the Apology, when he speaks of these old Accusers, who had spread Abroad the first Calumnies against his Innocence; and who, as he says to his Judges, having conversed with you in your Youth, have educated you in this Opinion, *That* Socrates *is a Vain-glorious Man, who inquires too curiously*

Xenoph. de memorab. l. 1.

Apud Plat.

Secret Calumnies of the Sophists against Socrates.

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curiously into the Things that are done under the Earth and in the Heavens, and who makes the worse always appear the better Reason. Is not this to be thought the natural Language of the Sophists, whom *Socrates* had openly affronted, and who could apply no other Remedy to their Wound, than to defame the Hand that gave it? No doubt they called the examining into their Doctrines, and not being satisfied with their Notions, a too curious Inquiry into Things: And as they believed their own Reason to be the best, they pretended it was finding out the Art to make Right truckle to Injustice, to have found out the Means to convict them of Vanity and Ignorance. But these Discourses hindered not the Youth from beginning by little and little to have a mean Opinion of them, from ridiculing their Sophisms, nor from more than ever frequenting the Company of *Socrates*, whose Conversation was not less charming than profitable, and who had a wonderful Faculty to gain the Attention and Good-will of all that heard him. 'Tis reported, that *Aristippus* having met at the Olympick Games an intimate Friend of *Socrates*, and inquiring of him how *Socrates* conversed with his Friends, and what were generally the Subjects of his Conversations with them, was so struck at the bare Relation, that the Violence of his Passion turned him pale, and changed his whole Countenance, and that he could have no rest, 'till being arrived at *Athens*, he quenched at the Fountain-head that ardent Thirst that parched him up, and till seeing *Socrates* and hearing his Discourses, he enjoyed at first Hand both his Virtue and his Wisdom.

Plutarch.

Plutarch. We read in the Life of *Alcibiades*, that this young Man, who was like to have been the Prey of Flatterers and lewd Persons, no sooner knew *Socrates*,

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tes, than he forsook all the World to follow him. 'Tis true that he *left* him again in Time, and the ambitious Desire he had to be great in the Republick, made him bid farewell to the Study of Philosophy: But he confessed himself, that he did it with Regret; that he stopt his Ears that he might not hear the Voice of *Socrates*, who would have charmed him eternally, like the singing of the Syrens; and that as often as he reflected on his divine Instructions, he blushed within himself to think he lived as he did; insomuch, said he, that he sometimes wished that *Socrates* were dead, that he might no longer see a Witness that covered him with Shame; and nevertheless, that if this Misfortune should happen to him, he should find it much more difficult to comfort himself for his Loss, than to support the Confusion into which his Presence cast him.

Apud Platonem in convivio.

The Example of *Euclides* the *Megarean* is also very remarkable, to shew with how much Passion the Friends of *Socrates* followed him. He, during the Violence of the Enmity that was between the *Athenians* and the *Megareans*, never failed to come to *Athens* to hear him, though with Danger of his Life. 'Tis said, that he went out of *Megara* in the Evening, dressed in Womens Cloaths, his Head covered with a Veil, and came in the Night to the House of *Socrates*, where he continued till the Day coming on, he was obliged to go Home in the same Manner he came: And this he did at a Time, when it was forbid to any of his Country to set a Foot into *Attica* upon Pain of Death, and when the *Athenian* Generals were compelled to take an Oath to ravage the Territory of *Megara* twice a Year.

A. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 6. c. 10.

Plut. in Pericle.

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The Converſation that *Cebes* and *Simmias* had with *Socrates*, was indeed more aſſiduous, but not ſo dangerous. Theſe two, who were of *Thebes*, kept for the moſt part at *Athens*, that they might enjoy his Company the more eaſily. They choſe rather to be generally at a Place where they were Foreigners, than to be ſeldom with him. Thus of all the Favours for which *Plato* thought himſelf obliged to thank the Divine Providence, that of being in the World in the Days of *Socrates* was one of the three which he, at the Hour of his Death, remembred with the greateſt Satisfaction and Gratitude. And after he had praiſed God for having given him a reaſonable Soul, and for that he was born a *Greek*, and not a Barbarian, he added as the greateſt Inſtance of the Divine Goodneſs towards him, that his Birth happened in the Age of *Socrates*. It was for his Sake that he quitted Poetry, to which he firſt applied himſelf ſucceſsfully enough, but upon hearing *Socrates*, he was carried away with the Love of a more noble Study. Some ſay, his Poverty was ſo great, that he reſolved to be a Soldier, and as he was buying Arms for that Purpoſe, *Socrates* chanced to meet him, and prevailed with him to quit that Deſign, and to apply himſelf to Philoſophy. *Socrates* ſaid, that the Night before he had dreamt, that a Swan flew out of his Boſom, and filled the whole Earth with his charming Voice, which he explained very well of this his great Diſciple, whoſe Divine Writings will eternally be the Delights of the Mind.

Plutarchus in Mario.

Ælian. l. 2. c. 30.

Idem l. 3. c. 27.

Diog. in Plat.

As for our *Xenophon*, 'tis affirmed that *Socrates* ſtopt him as he was going along the Street, and ſtretching

Diog. in Xen.

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ing out his Stick to hinder him from purſuing his Way, aſked him, where Proviſions were to be ſold; which *Xenophon* having told him, he aſked him farther, in what Place Men might learn Virtue? which puzzling him a little, *Socrates* went on and ſaid, If thou art deſirous to know it, follow me, and thou ſhalt learn it. This he did immediately, and was the firſt who collected his Diſcourſes, and made them publick. Diog.

He had beſides ſeveral famous Hearers: one of them *(Crito)* loved him tenderly all his Life, and took particular Care to relieve his Poverty. *Chærophon*, of whom mention is made in the ſecond Book of the *Memorable Things*, and to whom was given the Oracle concerning *Socrates*. *Phædon*, of the *Ælian* Sect, whom, as 'tis ſaid, he redeemed from a ſhameful Slavery, having exhorted *Alcibiades* to ranſom him out of the Hands of an infamous Maſter, who intended to make an abominable Profit, by proſtituting this young Man. *Æſchines*, who having a great Deſire to be one of his Followers, and fearing he ſhould not be admitted, becauſe he was extremely poor, went to him nevertheleſs, and owning his Incapacity to offer him any thing, told him, that in lieu of a Preſent he would give himſelf wholly to him: And this Frankneſs of his procured him ſuch Acceſs to *Socrates*, as gave him Opportunity to be near him all his Life, and never to forſake him in any Change of Fortune that happened to him; inſomuch, that *Socrates* himſelf was wont to ſay, that *Æſchines* alone knew how to honour him as he ought. *Antiſthenes*, Father of the Cynicks, who tho' he lived at the Port of *Pyreum*, about five Miles from *Athens*, came thi- Diog. Heſych. Illuſt. Diog. & Senec. l. 1. de benef. c. 8.

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ther every Day to see *Socrates*.

Diogen. in Aristippo.

Aristippus the Author of the *Cyrenaic* Philosophy, whom *Socrates* blamed for his too great Love of Pleasure, and who was the first of any of the Disciples of *Socrates*, that was accused of taking Money for teaching. 'Tis said, that he once sent two hundred Crowns of his Gains to *Socrates*, who sent them back to him; and that *Socrates* asking him from whence came his Riches, he answered, from the same Place from whence comes thy Poverty, meaning from Philosophy.

De Oratore, l. 3.

Cicero says, That all the Sects of Philosophers that came after *Socrates*, took Birth from him; and that all of them, tho' of very different Opinions, boasted they were descended from that glorious Stock. And indeed no Man ever left so flourishing a Posterity: To him we owe all the great Men of *Athens*; and he it was who came to keep up the Reputation of that City, and to procure for it the Glory of Philosophy, at the very Time when it lost the Power of Empire. Methinks therefore, he is not very Mysterious when he says, that he came only to make others bring forth, and to excite in them the Seeds of the Sciences; for tho' he produced nothing himself, he is the only Cause of the Productions of Mind of all the great Men that followed him.

In Theateto.

Of the voluntary Poverty of Socrates.

Moreover, it being evident that he had a great Number of Friends, many of whom were very rich, it can scarce be questioned but that he might have heaped up great Riches for himself: but he voluntarily continued poor all his Life; which *Plato* would have us allow as an undoubted Proof that he was truly given of God to the People of *Athens*: For it is not the Nature of Man to neglect

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glect their Intereſt as *Socrates* did, and only to take Care of the Advancement of others. We read in the Œconomick of *Xenophon*, that his whole Eſtate amounted not to fifty Crowns, and that nevertheleſs he eſteemed himſelf richer than Men who had a hundred Times as much: Which comes almoſt to the ſame Purpoſe with what he ſays likewiſe in the Banquet of the ſame *Xenophon*; that neither Riches nor Poverty ought to be looked for in the Cheſt, but in the Soul. His Father left him about eight-hundred Crowns, and one of his Friends, having for ſome Affair or other, Occaſion for ſuch a Sum, he lent it him, but the Buſineſs happening to miſcarry, he loſt all the Money, and bore this Misfortune with ſo great Patience, that he never ſo much as complained of it; and we had been wholly ignorant of it too, if they who had no Intereſt in the Matter, had ſpoken of it no more than himſelf. He was courted by *Archelaus*, King of *Macedonia*, who both by Preſents and large Promiſes endeavoured to draw him into his Country; but he generouſly refuſed his Preſents, and returned him for Anſwer, That he would not go to a Man who was able to give him more than he was able to repay. Some other Princes of *Greece* tempted him likewiſe to no Purpoſe. *Alcibiades*, whoſe Preſents he had often obſtinately refuſed, ſaid, that he was more invulnerable to Gifts, than *Ajax* was to Arms. For even the Fable allows that *Ajax* was vulnerable in the Neck; but *Socrates* had no weak Part againſt Money.

Liban. in Apol. Socr.

Diog.

True contempt of Riches.

Seneca de benef. lib. 5. cap. 6.

Apud Platonem in convivio.

Scholiaſt. in Iliad.

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Money. Not but that he ſometimes accepted of Gifts from ſome Perſons, his Poverty obliging him to take what elſe he could not have had: And *Seneca* ſays, he made no Scruple to aſk for a Cloak, not having Money to buy one. But he conſtantly refuſed every Thing that exceeded what was neceſſary: He deſired not to ſtuff himſelf up, but was content not to be empty: He took enough to relieve his Indigence, but not to ſatisfy the ambitious Liberalities of his Friends. *Xantippe* was ill pleaſed to ſee him of that Humour, and was often at Odds with him for it, but he always gave her ſome pertinent Anſwer. Once when he ſent back a Preſent of Value that *Alcibiades* offered him, he told her, it was needful to put a Stop to his extravagant Generoſity by refuſing his Gifts. Another Time, being willing to convince her that it was not their Intereſt to accept of every thing was ſent them, he told her, That they who take all the Preſents that are offered them, will not at Length find any to give them what they aſk. And one Day to get rid of the Importunity of *Alcibiades*, who was earneſt with him to accept of a large Spot of Ground, to build a Houſe upon; he ſaid to him, If I wanted a Pair of Shoes, and thou wouldeſt give me Leather to make me ſome my ſelf, would it not be ridiculous in me to take it? And *Charmidas* having ſent him ſome Slaves, that he might ſet them to work, and take to himſelf the Advantage of their Labour, he ſent them back immediately. None can be ſaid to value the Goods of Fortune leſs than this comes to; and he was often heard to ſay, that Services of Plate and rich Cloaths were proper for Comedians, but not Neceſſaries of Life. And ſeeing

De benefic. l. 4. c. 24.

Ælian. l. 9. c. 23.

Stob. Ser. 3.

Diog. in Socr.

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ſeeing once a great Quantity of rich Goods expoſed to Sale, he cryed out, Good Gods! how many Things are here that I have no need of. In his Opinion the moſt valuable Wealth was Quiet; and the true Felicity, Virtue: Being therefore aſked, if he believed the King of *Perſia*, whom the *Greeks*, by Way of Excellence and Diſtinction, called the *Great King*, to be happy; he anſwered, he could not tell, becauſe he knew not if he was Virtuous. And one Day ſeeing *Alcibiades*, who was a little too vain of his Riches and large Poſſeſſions, it is ſaid, that he led him to ſee a Map of Geography, where ſhewing him the Country of *Attica*, which ſcarce took up any Room, he deſired him to ſhew him his Lands in it: To which *Alcibiades* anſwered, that they were not marked in ſo ſmall a Space; why then, replyed *Socrates*, doſt thou value thy ſelf ſo much, for a Trifle ſo ſmall, that it deſerves not to be reckoned amongſt the Parts of the Earth?

Diog. Apud Plat. in Gorgia. Ælian. l. 3. c. 2.

His Temperance contributed very much to his Contempt of Riches. He who has need but of little, deſires ſcarce any Thing. He anſwered *Æſchines*, who complained that he was Poor, that he ought then to extort Uſury from himſelf, meaning, that he ſhould retrench his eating and drinking, and that Abſtinence always comes to the Relief of Want. He would ſometimes ſay, that moſt Men ſeem to live, only to eat: But that as for his part, he eat only to live. He laughed at thoſe who bought Fruits that were more forward than ordinary, and told them, they did as if they deſpaired of

Temperance of Socrates. Diog. in vita. Æſchinis. Idem in Socr. Idem.

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of living till those Things came in Season. Having invited some Persons of Note to dine with him, and *Xantippe* being ashamed they had so little to treat them with, he said thus to her: Trouble not thy self: If they are good Men, they will be content with what I give them: If they are otherwise, I need not concern myself about them. When he sate down to Table, he thought every Thing good; because he never sat down but with a good Appetite, which he always took Care to get by long Labour, either in Walking, or using some other Exercise. He walked sometimes in an Evening before his House, till it was late in the Night; and one asking him what he was doing, he answered, I am making a Sauce for my Supper. But what *Plutarch* observes of him is more worthy of our Notice: For he tells us, that when *Socrates* returned from any Exercise, tho' he were extremely dry, he refrained nevertheless from Drinking, till he had thrown away the first Bucket of Water he had drawn, that he might exercise himself to Patience, and accustom his sensual Appetite to wait the Leisure of Reason.

Idem.

Cicero Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 5.

In the Treatise of speaking too much.

This austerity in which he lived in his own particular, rendered him not morose and peevish, as the Philosophers generally were. One, with whom he was very intimate, says of him, that he never saw a Man better-humoured in all Sorts of Companies; and that, tho' he did not love drinking, yet when he was forced to do so, no body could hold out with him; and what was indeed wonderful, he never was any Ways disturbed with it; and there was no difference between *Socrates* fasting, and his coming from a great Feast or Entertainment.

Mildness of Socrates on all Occasions.

Alcibiad. in convivio.

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In like Manner, in his Cloaths he affected not a ſordid and filthy Exteriour, as many did, and tho' he was very poor, he was always cleanly and neat in his own Perſon and in his Houſe. He hated the ſtudyed Beggarlineſs of *Antiſthenes*, and frankly told him, that he ſaw a great deal of Vanity peeping through Holes of his Cloak: And if in the firſt Book of the *Memorable Things* he is blamed by *Antiphon* for being ill-dreſſed, it was only becauſe he wore the ſame Suit in Winter and in Summer, as that Sophiſt himſelf explains it immediately afterwards, which ſeemed to him to be very inconvenient. 'Tis obſerved likewiſe, that on certain Occaſions he took care to dreſs himſelf better than uſually, as when he was at *Agathon*'s Feaſt, being reſolved, ſaid he, to make himſelf fine that he might be fit to appear in ſo good Company. All this is an Evidence of a wonderful Eaſineſs of Mind, joined with great Prudence, in having complied ſo perfectly with Times and Places, and to be able to keep up the Perſon of a wiſe Man in all Sorts of Occaſions. This was to learn from Philoſophy all ſhe has that is eaſy and affable, and not to load ourſelves with what ſhe has that is difficult and diſpleaſing: This was to render her Civil and Sociable, from Rude and Solitary that ſhe was before. This was taking off her hideous and frightful Vizard to diſcover her natural Beauty. In a Word, this was to inſtruct by his Life and Manners, as much and more than by his Doctrine.

Ælian. l. 4 c. 11.

Idem. l. 9. c. 35. & Diog.

Diog. in Socr.

Plat. in convivio.

His Modeſty was great indeed: for tho' he was courted by ſo many Perſons, and allowed to be a Man of great Wit, ſound Judgment, and ſublime Learning,

Modeſty of Socrates.

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Learning, he proteſted openly that he knew nothing, and had always this Saying in his Mouth, That he was only certain that he knew one Thing, which was, that he knew nothing. He would never own that he was capable to inſtruct others: He never took upon him the Title of a Maſter, leaſt, perhaps, he ſhould ſeem to conſent that he knew ſomething. He ſpoke thus to confound the Pride of all ſuch as boaſted of the Sciences they did not poſſeſs, and which it is even impoſſible for Man to acquire. For a Mind enlightened like his, muſt have obſerved many Effects, whoſe Cauſes will from us be eternally concealed; many Doubts whoſe true Deciſion we ſhall never find; and many Wonders in the Heavens and in Ourſelves, that will always eſcape our Curioſity. Reflecting therefore on the little Certainty there is in the Doctrine of Men, he confeſſed he knew nothing, tho' he knew as much as others. But he could not call it Knowledge, never to be out of Doubts and Conjectures; nor could he eſteem it to be clear-ſighted, to ſee no better than they whoſe Sight at beſt is very bad. Now if it be inferred from hence that he would have introduced Uncertainty into all the Knowledge of the World, and that by ſaying he knew Nothing, he ſaid plain enough that he knew not whether Virtue were good or bad; whether we ought to love our Country, and to abhor Wickedneſs, would be to take his Thoughts in a wrong Senſe, and to interpret his Humility amiſs. He was infallibly certain that true Goodneſs conſiſts in Virtue, ſeeing Virtue was the Object of all his Actions. He muſt have been certain that we ought to obey the Laws, ſeeing he himſelf was obſervant of them; and that we ought

Plat. in Apolog. Cicer. Acad. 1. Diog. in Socr.

What Socrates meant by ſaying he knew Nothing.

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ought to avoid all Arrogance, Hatred, and Ingratitude, since he laboured to render them all odious. And lastly, he must most certainly believe that there is a God, and that he ought to be adored, seeing he spoke of nothing but of his Benefits towards us, and of the Duties we owe him. For this Reason, *Cicero* would not have us place *Socrates* in the Number of those who deny, that we can have a certain Knowledge of any Thing; it being unreasonable to supppose this great Man, who has so plainly taught the Doctrine of Justice and Piety, to have been the Author of a doubtful Doctrine that manifestly destroys every Virtue, and all Religion. From hence we see besides, how unjust it is to accuse him, as some have done, of not having acted with Sincerity in his Conferences, of contenting himself to refute others, without ever declaring his own Opinions, that he might not be obliged to justify them. For supposing that all the Actions of his Life had not so clearly discovered what his Opinions were; several excellent Dialogues that we find in the four Books of our *Xenophon*, would plainly evince the Injustice of reproaching him in this Manner. And if sometimes he was satisfied with only refuting others, this may have happened when he had to do with Sophists, a Sort of Men whom he ought not to have treated otherwise, or when he met with Minds intirely corrupted with the commonly received Notions, and to whom he thought not fit to trust his Maxims, till after he had intirely purged them of their Errors. This Conduct of his is expressly taken Notice of by *Xenophon*, in the Beginning of the fourth Book: For after the long Contestation between *Socrates* and *Enthydemus*, where *Socrates* takes delight to overthrow all the Opinions

Acad. Quæst. l. 4.

How we ought to take it that Socrates never told his Opinion.

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Opinions of the other, he ſays, That this young Man went away much troubled to ſee ſo little Aſſurance in what he believed moſt certain: And he adds, that this was not the only Perſon whom *Socrates* had diſcompoſed in like Manner, but that ſeveral to whom the ſame Thing had happened, came no more to ſee him; whoſe Example *Enthydemus* did not follow; upon which, *Socrates* took Care not to diſcourage him to that Degree, but ſpoke more frankly and more plainly to him of the Things he ought to know, and apply himſelf to. And the Reaſon why he was ſo often obliged to refute the Opinions of others was, becauſe he almoſt ever met with People, who wanted to be undeceived; and upon this Conſideration *Plutarch* calls the Doctrine of *Socrates* a Medicine to cleanſe and purify corrupted Souls: And *Euſebius* ſtyles him the *Purgative Philoſopher*, becauſe he applied himſelf chiefly to root out the Errors and falſe Opinions of others, eſpecially that of perſuading ourſelves that we know what we do not. We read likewiſe that when he went about to inſtruct any one, how diſtant ſoever were the Subject of their firſt Conference, he artfully contrived ſo to change the Diſcourſe, as to make it always fall upon ſome Head that gave him Occaſion to inquire of him how he lived, and how he had lived for the Time paſt; and that when he had once got upon that Point, he never left it off, till he had examined it to the Bottom. For, in ſhort, the Deſign of all his Conferences was the Utility of thoſe with whom he converſed: This *Xenophon* repeats very often, and in one Place even ſays, that he never carried on his Conferences beyond what was profitable. *Diogenes* aſſures us too, that he never entered into any Diſpute,

Φιλόσοφος καθαρτικὸς.

Apud Plat. in Lach.

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pute, to hurt any Man's Reputation, but only to diſcover the Truth. Thus in *Plato* he proteſts to *Gorgias*, that if he oppoſes his Opinion, he does it not out of a Spirit of Contradiction, but only to find out the Truth; and that he was better pleaſed to be reprimanded when he reaſoned amiſs, than he was to reprimand others; becauſe he took a ſingular Delight in being delivered from a falſe Opinion. And ſeeing *Euclides*, who took too much Delight in the Quirks and Cavils of Diſpute, he rebuked him for it, in theſe Words, If thou continue to do ſo, thou wilt be able to diſpute with the Sophiſts, but wilt never know how to live with Men. Theſe, therefore, were the Motives of all the Diſputations, and of all the Controverſies of *Socrates*; the Search after Truth, and the Inſtruction of all that converſed with him.

'Twas he who invented the Rage of Diſpute, ſays Diogenes.

His Way of Reaſoning was admirable, and he muſt needs have had a wonderful Vivacity of Apprehenſion, to penetrate in a Moment to the Bottom of an Affair, and to examine it ſo thoroughly, that after him there ſeems no more can be ſaid of it. He generally enters upon the Affair by Doubting, he always inquires, always interrogates: One would ſay, he ſeeks rather to be inſtructed himſelf, than to inſtruct others. By this Means he engages by little and little, the Perſon with whom he ſpeaks. He leads him from Propoſition to Propoſition, till at length the Perſon himſelf lights upon what he would have him confeſs. This it was that rendered his Way of Arguing ſo convincing, and that made it impoſſible for his Adverſary not to yield to him, becauſe all his Inferences

Socrates's Way of Reaſoning.

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ces were drawn from his Anſwers. Thus to him is aſcribed the Glory of having been the firſt who underſtood the Way of right Reaſoning, and of having found the true Uſe of the Genus, and the Difference which are the two Poles of it. The Books of the *Memorable Things* are compoſed of nothing but of theſe Diſcourſes of *Socrates*, as are likewiſe moſt of the Dialogues of *Plato*, and in thoſe it is that we muſt look for them. Not but that ſome other Diſciples of *Socrates* collected theſe Diſcourſes, as well as *Plato* and *Xenophon*; and among others *Æſchines*, who ſo perfectly conceived his Mind and imitated his Manners, that many have believed they were the Writings of *Socrates* himſelf that he publiſhed under his own Name, after he had found Means to get them out of the Hands of *Xantippe*. But nothing is now remaining of this *Æſchines*, tho' ſome hold the *Axiochus*, which is aſcribed to *Plato*, to be one of his Dialogues. And we find in *Cicero* a remarkable Paſſage of him, where he relates ſo agreeable an Entertainment between *Socrates*, *Aſpaſia*, *Xenophon*, and his Wife, that it well deſerves not to be paſſed over in Silence, as well becauſe *Socrates* is one of them, and 'twas from him that *Æſchines* learnt it, as becauſe our *Xenophon* and his Wife are part of the Company. He ſaid he had heard *Socrates* ſay, that *Aſpaſia*, an illuſtrious Woman of that Age, meeting with the Wife of *Xenophon*, aſked her this Queſtion, If your Neighbour had better Money than yours, which had you rather have? ſhe anſwered, Hers. And if ſhe had better Cloaths, which would you chuſe? Hers ſtill. And if ſhe had a better Huſband

Oratore in futurum Socratici optima præparant. Quint. l. 10.

Diog. in Æſchine & Ariſtide.

See Suidas, Athenæus, Harpocration.

Cicero lib. 2. de invent.

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Husband than yours, which would you love best? at these Words, says *Socrates*, she blushed, and made no Reply. But *Aspasia* addressing herself to *Xenophon*, made him a like Demand. Pray tell me, if your Neighbour had a better Horse than yours, which would you like best? he answered, His. She went on, And if his Land were better than yours, which would you rather have? he said, His likewise. And if he had a better Wife than you, which would you love best? this last Question stopt his Mouth, and *Aspasia*, as *Socrates* relates, resuming the Discourse, said: Since neither of you hath answered the Point, concerning which, I was most desirous to know your Opinions, I will tell both of you what your Thoughts are. Is it not true that you desire nothing more; one, than to have a good Husband, and the other a virtuous Wife? If therefore the one and the other of you do not endeavour to be so, you will have no Quiet, wishing always to have what you believe so great a Good. Thus, says *Cicero*, this Way of Reasoning by the Resemblance of Things that are evident, made her discover the secret Thoughts of those Persons, which gave Occasion to her at last to make that excellent Reflection, and to exhort them to conjugal Virtues; and this, without Doubt, was the Design of this Dialogue; and gives Grounds to believe, that *Socrates*, relating it to *Æschines*, added to it some of his own Wit and Method. For as we have shewn already, what he had always chiefly in his Thoughts, was to Instruct and do Good. After this, let what will be said of his Subtilties, and Surprizes, of this Way of always Interrogating, and making Profession of Ignorance, tho' it was he who always convinced others: Let this be called a perpetual Irony or Dissimulation: Let

In istis interrogationibus Socraticis cavendum ne incaute respondeas. Quint. lib. 5.

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ἀπαίδευτον καὶ ἄμαθῆ καὶ ἀπόλαστον εἰπὼν ἐπηνεγκεν ἀδικία καὶ ὕβρος ἦν. Plat. de Herodoti malig.

Let him be called, if you will, the Buffoon of *Athens*, as *Zeno* the *Epicurean* named him: Let him beſides, be eſteemed a diſſolute and impertinent Fellow, as *Ariſtoxenus* repreſents him: 'Tis ſufficient that *Ariſtoxenus* himſelf at the End of the Injuries he vomited againſt him, was forced to add, that after all, *Socrates* did hurt to no Man, and, what we have ſaid already, that he had no other Intereſt than that of Truth, nor other Deſire than that of doing Good, and being uſeful to all the World.

Relation of the Oracle given for Socrates.

Theſe extraordinary Qualifications were the Cauſe that the Oracle of *Apollo* pronounced, that *Socrates* was the wiſeſt of all Men, and by this glorious Teſtimony ſeemed to have rendered to his Virtue the Honour it deſerved. The Occaſion of this Oracle is related thus. *Chærephon*, a Friend of *Socrates*, of whom mention is made in the ſecond Book of the *Memorable Things*, being at the Temple of *Delphos*, aſked if there were in the World a Man wiſer than *Socrates*, and ſhe who gave the Oracles anſwered, there was not. We find the Anſwer intire in the Authors who have written on the Comedies of *Ariſtophanes*; and the Senſe of it is thus:

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δὲ Εὐριπίδης.
Ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

Sophocles *is wiſe*; *more wiſe* Euripides,
But of all Men moſt wiſe is Socrates.

This Oracle being rumoured Abroad, made a great Noiſe all over *Greece*, and the Opinions were divided

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divided concerning it. Some received it with Envy, others with Joy and Admiration. As for himself, he confessed ingenuously, that he did not comprehend the Meaning of those Words, and that he knew he was so far short of Wisdom, that he could not in any wise apply them to himself. He tells us in the Apology how great Inquietude it gave him, the Pains he had taken to find out the Explication of it, the Expedient he bethought himself of, to discover if he was wiser than other Men, and the Hate he had incurred by that Inquiry. I went, says he, to one of those who concern themselves in Affairs of State, and are called Politicians; imagining that such a Man would soon let me see, that *Apollo*'s Priestess was mistaken, and that the excellent Character she had given me, belonged much rather to him than to me. I talked with him for some Time, and found, that as he had the Reputation of being very Wise, he believed he was so too, tho' indeed he was far from it. I endeavoured first of all to shew him that he was mistaken in the good Opinion he had of himself; but he took Offence at it, and became my Enemy, as did likewise several others who were present at our Conference. This gave me Ground to think that I was wiser than he; for tho', to say Truth, neither he nor I knew any Thing, at least I had this Good in me, that I did not, like him, imagine myself to know what I knew not. I went to another, who was in yet greater Esteem than he, but I met with the like Success, as well for what I discovered in him, as for the Discontent he expressed against me. I was not well pleased to find that I procured myself the Ill-will of so many Persons, but I little valued all Things of that Nature. In the next Place, I addressed myself to the Poets, believing that with them I should pass for an ignorant Fellow; I took

Apud Plat. in Apol.

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with me their moſt finiſhed Poems, and had the Curioſity to aſk them Queſtions concerning them; but was aſhamed to ſee, that they ſpoke not ſo pertinently of their own Works, as others might have done: Which made me judge, that all their Compoſitions proceeded from a certain Inſpiration or Fury, and that they knew not what they did, no more than thoſe who deliver the Oracles know what they ſay. Beſides, I ſaw that becauſe they were Poets, they thought themſelves Men of great Ability in other Things too, of which indeed they underſtood nothing: Inſomuch, that I left them, and was as little ſatisfied as with the others. At laſt I applied myſelf to the Tradeſmen, being very certain that I ſhould find among them, ſome who knew many Things that were very curious, and of which I had no Manner of Knowledge, and in this I was not miſtaken: But at the ſame Time I perceived that the good Workmen had the ſame Fault as the Poets, and that every one of them thought himſelf capable of greater Things than his own Trade. Thus after all this Inquiry, I ſaid to myſelf, 'tis better to be what I am, than to know what all theſe People know, and be blinded with Preſumption as they are: And from that Time I concluded, that as, to take the Matter aright, God alone is wiſe; ſo the Oracle meant to ſay, that human Wiſdom was nothing, and made uſe of my Name to ſhew, that the Wiſdom of Man conſiſts in confeſſing with *Socrates*, that he hath indeed nothing that deſerves the Name of Wiſdom. After this, continues he, I made it my whole Buſineſs to examine into Men, believing that to be the Work for which God had deſtined me: And as ſoon as I heard of any one who was reputed Wiſe, I went to him and endeavoured to ſound his Depth; but if I found him not the Man he went for, I made it my Buſineſs

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neſs to ſhew him his Miſtake: And this it was that has procured me ſo many cruel Enemies, who from Time to Time have aſperſed me with very dangerous Calumnies. And becauſe a great many young Men, who frequented my Company, have learnt with me to make Trial of Men, and to diſcover their Weakneſſes, I have been loaded with the Indignation of all the World, and it has been ſaid of me, that I corrupted the Youth.

This is the Account himſelf gives us of that important Circumſtance of his Life, and thus he makes us acquainted with the Riſe of one Part of his Afflictions. And certainly, how vaſt ſoever be the Title of WISE, with which the Oracle honoured him, we may affirm, that among all the Heathens, there was none had more Right to lay claim to it than he: But what rendered him yet more worthy of it was, that he pretended to it leſs than all other Men.

Of the familiar Spirit of Socrates.

However, ſo advantagious an Elogy was not the only wonderful Adventure of his Life. 'Tis ſaid, that he had a familiar Spirit, or a tutelar Dæmon, that aſſiſted him continually, and that often diſcovered to him Things to come. The Examples of this were ſo frequent, that there was not a Man but had heard them ſpoken of.

Cicero de divin. 1. Plut. Dæm. Socr.

At the Battle of *Delium*, where the *Athenians* were defeated, as he was retiring with *Laches* and *Alcibiades*, he told them, that he had juſt received an Admonition not to follow the Road that moſt of their Men had taken: And indeed, they who continued in that Road were purſued by the Enemy's Cavalry, who coming up with them, killed many on the Spot, and took the others Priſoners; while *Socrates*, who had taken another

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Route, arrived safe at *Athens*, with those that followed him.

In Theag. When the *Athenians* were fitting out that great Fleet, which they sent to conquer *Sicily*, and that never came back, he foretold the Voyage would be unfortunate, as indeed it proved; though there was Reason enough to judge the contrary, when the Fleet put to Sea: For the Enterprize was well concerted, and it was believed would not have miscarried, if *Nicias* had at first attacked *Syracuse*, and not given Time to the Inhabitants to prepare for their Defence.

Thucyd. l. 7.

Timarchus and *Philemon* had formed a Design to kill one of their Enemies, and this Conspiracy had been carried on so secretly between them, that not a Soul beside knew any Thing of it. The Evening it was to have been executed, *Socrates* happened to be at Supper with *Timarchus*, who finding the appointed Hour was come, rose from Table to go his Ways, telling the Company he would come back in a Moment: *Socrates*, who knew not his Design, advised him not to stir, upon which, he again took his Place. A little after, he rose up the second Time, and told *Socrates*, he was obliged to be gone: But he advised him once more to keep within Doors, which accordingly he did for a while, but at length, stole away unperceived by *Socrates*, and his Enterprize succeeded very unfortunately: Insomuch, that he was condemned to die for it; and as they were carrying him to the Place of Execution, he said aloud to his Brother, that he died for not believing *Socrates*.

Plut. The Effects of this Divine Assistance were observed likewise in Things of small Importance. Going to a Friend's House, he would not go through a certain

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a certain Street, which was his direct and only Way thither, but chose rather to return, saying, that his Familiar forbid him to go on. However, some of the Company would go forward on Purpose to see what would come of it, and met with a pleasant Accident: For there happened to be in the Street a Herd of Swine all over Mire, who came thick along because of their great Number, and took up the whole Street; insomuch, that there being no Room for those Persons to stand aside, they were covered with Dirt, and were sufficiently laughed at by all who saw them come back in that filthy Pickle.

Another Time, seeing *Crito*, who was going Abroad, he called him back, and advised him not to go a walking that Day, *Crito* would not believe him, but repented of it afterwards: For pulling down a little Bough, it slipt out of his Hand, and flying back with Violence struck him in the Eye, and wounded him very dangerously. Cicero de divin. 1

Charmidas having imparted to him the Design he had of going to the *Nemæan* Games, to run the Stade, he gave him Notice that his Design would not succeed, and dissuaded him from it all he could. The other, who had been long preparing himself, and who took Delight in that Exercise, would nevertheless go: But came back so little satisfied, that he had no Reason to thank his Incredulity. Plat. in Theag. Ælian. l. 8.

There were many of the like Examples, and *Cicero* observes, that *Antipater* had made a great Collection of them in his Books of Divination. And, indeed, *Xenophon* assures us, that *Socrates* often gave his Friends the like Admonitions, and accompanies his Assertion with this glorious Circumstance, De Divin. 1.

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that never any Man neglected his Advices without repenting it.

Several Opinions touching the Dæmon of Socrates. That it was his Visions.

All the Antients have treated of this familiar Spirit of *Socrates*, and in what Manner it communicated itself to him. Some believed it only the Visions he had, by Means of which he was informed of Things that were to come to pass.

That it was a Divination by Sneezing.

Others had the Conceit that it was a Divination by Sneezing, and that while he was meditating on any Design, if any one sneezed on his Right Hand, he took it for a good Sign; if on his Left, he judged it an ill Presage. If he sneezed himself, it confirmed him in his Design, supposing the Affair were not yet begun: But if it was, it made him leave it.

That it was a Voice.

Plato and *Xenophon*, who can speak of it with more Certainty than all others, say it was a certain Voice that he heard: And *Plato* says moreover, that this Voice signified always that the Thing about which he was in Pain, would have an ill Issue: So that it was a certain Admonition to him, to abandon what he was doing, or to believe that the Affairs for which this Admonition was given him, would not succeed. *This Voice which I hear*, said he himself, *never commands me to do any Thing, but always forbids it.* And thus it was that he judged that the Design for which *Timarchus* was to leave the Company would prove fatal, because the Moment he rose up, he heard this Voice: Thus too he foretold to *Charmidas*, that his Voyage would not be prosperous, because he heard that Voice when he was speaking to him of it: And in like Manner of all

Apud. Plat. in Apolog. & in Theag.

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the reſt. Nevertheleſs, 'tis ſaid in *Xenophon*, *That this Voice gave him Notice of what he ſhould do*, which would be intirely contrary to what *Plato* ſays, and would convict of Falſhood either one or the other, were it not for this Interpretation, that by always giving him Notice of what he was not to do, it ſometimes told him what he was to do; becauſe, when we are in Pain concerning two Things, if we are forbid one, we are tacitly commanded the other.

Φωνὴ φαίνεται σημαίνουσα. ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν. Xenoph. in Apol.

Apuleius is of Opinion, that the Dæmon from which *Socrates* received theſe Admonitions, was the ſame that was given him at his Birth, as one is given to every Man, tho' every Man knows it not, and receives not ſo great an Aſſiſtance from it: But that the Innocence and Piety of *Socrates* had engaged his to communicate it ſelf to him more openly than uſual: From whence that Author is farther of Opinion, that it made it ſelf underſtood by him, not only by a certain Sound of the Voice, but even that it made viſible Signs to him, and that *Socrates* had the Advantage likewiſe of ſeeing it, according to their Opinion who believed, that this Communication was made by Viſions. Nevertheleſs, what *Socrates* himſelf ſaid, intirely deſtroys this Opinion; for he accuſed of Falſhood thoſe that boaſted to have had an ocular Sight of any Thing Divine; and it is obſerved that he gave no Credit, but to ſuch as pretended to have heard a Voice.

That it was his tutelary Dæmon.

In *Plutarch*, the Philoſopher *Simmias* takes it yet more Spiritually, and ſays it was a Divine Intelligence, which directly ſtruck his Underſtanding, without making uſe of any certain Sound, or any other Sign whatever, that had any

That it was the Divine Intelligence that communicated it ſelf to him.

Relation

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Relation to the Senſes. For it is very true, ſays he, that by the Means of Speech we diſcover to one another our Conceptions, that are, as it were, folded up in Darkneſs: But the Thoughts of the Gods, being all reſplendent and luminous, dart their Rays into our very Souls, and to explain themſelves have no need either of the Names or of the Terms that are in uſe among Men. It is ſufficient only to have the Mind in a perfect Calm and Repoſe: And from hence it comes to paſs, that in our Sleep, rather than at other Times, we are ſenſible of this Communication of the Gods, by the Means of Dreams: Becauſe in our Reſt, and during the profound Peace we then enjoy, the Soul is more ſuſceptible of ſo ſubtile a Light: Which, when we are awake, paſſes from us unregarded, among the Tumult of Paſſions, and in the Diſtraction of Affairs: But it eſcaped not thus from *Socrates*, becauſe having a pure and clean Underſtanding, which ſcarce had any Intercourſe with the Body, he was eaſily ſtruck with this Divine Light, and plainly perceived the Admonitions of the Gods, which other Men were incapable of diſcerning, becauſe they have the Mind always clouded with the Miſts and Vapours of the Earth. This is the Argument of that Philoſopher.

That it was only his Soul.

Others laughed at all this, and believed the Genius of *Socrates* to be nothing but his natural Judgement, or his Soul; and that this was what he called his Dæmon, according to the Locution of thoſe Philoſophers, who give ſometimes this Name to that Divine Part of Man, that guides and governs him. This Doubt is likewiſe propoſed by *Plutarch*, in the firſt Queſtion upon *Plato*, where ſpeaking of *Socrates*, he ſays, *Did he not give the Name of God to his own Nature?* After which he recites ſome Paſſages of

πότερον τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν θεὸν προσεῖπε

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of *Heraclitus* and *Menander*, which ſhew that it is not an extraordinary Thing to call the Mind or natural Underſtanding of Man, a God, or Dæmon.

For ſure our Underſtanding is a God,

ſays *Menander*, and the Philoſopher *Heraclitus*, *The Nature of Man is a Dæmon*; and in this Senſe it was, as *Plato* and his Diſciple *Xenocrates* ſay, that a contented Man was called *Eudæmon*, that is to ſay, aſſiſted by a good Dæmon; becauſe the Soul of every Man is a Dæmon to him, ſaid *Xenocrates*, and he has a good Dæmon, who has a quiet and contented Soul, who enjoys that Peace and interior Satisfaction, which are the inſeparable Companions of Virtue. Upon this Foundation there are ſome Conjectures, from whence many infer, that the Dæmon of *Socrates* was only this. For firſt of all they alledge the Diſcourſe of one of his Friends, who being gone down on purpoſe into the Cavern of *Trophonius* to learn of the Oracle what this Dæmon of *Socrates* was, brought up only this Anſwer, that the ſuperior Part of our Soul, which ſuffers not it ſelf to be overcome by Paſſions, is by the Vulgar called the Underſtanding, or the Mind, but that they who ſpeak more properly, call it Dæmon. Moreover that *Socrates* being aſked by *Simmias*, what that Dæmon was, that ſpoke to him, would make him no Anſwer; for which Reaſon, ſays *Simmias*, we durſt not afterwards ſpeak to him of it. For is it not reaſonable to imagine, that as it was likely enough to be true, that he was not ſorry to ſee this Opinion ſet a foot, to wit, that he was aſſiſted by

Plat. apud Clem. Alex. Strom 2. p. 17. & Xenoc. apud Ariſt. 2. Top. c. 6.

Nam quodam ſignificatu & animus humanus etiam nunc in corpore ſitus. Dæmon nuncupatur. Apul de Deo Socrat.

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a Dæmon, which instructed him of Things to come; because that Belief gave more Weight to his Words, and might incline the People more willingly to embrace Virtue by his Exhortations; is it not, I say, reasonable to imagine, that he would not answer to that Question, for fear of being obliged to lie, in openly asserting a Thing that was not true; or by discovering the Truth of the Matter, to correct a Mistake which he thought was of Advantage to him? The Terms also of the other Oracle, of which we have made mention, and that was given to the Father of *Socrates*, concerning his Son, seem likewise to strengthen this Opinion: For it recommended to him, to leave the Child to his own Will to do whatever came into his Mind; neither to compel him to any Thing, nor to take him from it, but to let loose the Reins to his natural Inclination, because he had within him a Guide and Conductor, more worth than ten thousand Masters. For to what Purpose was it to speak of giving the Reins to his natural Inclination, if it had not been the Business of that to govern him, and if it had itself been under the Guidance of a certain Genius? How shall we reconcile that this Guide and Director was within himself, if we will have this Guide to be a Dæmon, which cannot be understood but separate or apart from him, and out of him, unless we take it for his own Judgment, according to this last Explication. And when *Socrates* himself said, That none of those who followed him could have made any Improvement by his Conversation, if he had not been assisted by the Virtue of his Dæmon: And that even among them, some preserved eternally the Advantages they had acquired in conversing with him, while others lost the whole Benefit of it, as soon as they had left off his Company, was not this to give us plainly to understand,

Apud Plat. in Theag.

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derſtand, that this Dæmon was nothing elſe than the Judgment or the Vivacity of Mind, without which 'tis impoſſible to reap any Profit from Philoſophy, which makes a more or leſs laſting Impreſſion in the Soul, according to the different Diſpoſitions it there meets with. Therefore, when *Socrates* ſays, * *That he heard a certain Voice*, or with yet leſs certainty, *That he ſeemed to hear a certain Voice*, it does not oblige us to conclude, that *Socrates* actually heard a real Voice, which exteriouſly ſtruck his Senſe, to give him Notice of the Things he foretold, ſince we may reaſonably enough, and even more conſonantly to theſe doubtful Ways of ſpeaking, interpret it to ſome interior Voice, that is to ſay, of that ſecret Motion of the Soul, which being of a very ſubtile Nature, and approaching to the Divine, hath a lively Apprehenſion before-hand of what is to come to paſs, and often gives us true Advices of what will happen to us. This he ſays in almoſt expreſs Words in the *Phædrus*. *The Soul has a ſort of Divine Virtue, for when I ſpoke, it was ſhe that ſtired me up.* And this is agreeable to the Way of Speaking which we uſe every Day our ſelves, *My Heart miſgave me, my Heart told me ſo*, becauſe there is nothing more natural than to attribute a Voice and Speech to this ſecret Motion of our Souls, from which, as from a faithful and unerring Voice, we receive ſo many Advices, ſo many Admonitions. It is very likely, however, that Prudence, a right Judgement, and a great Experience in the Affairs of the World aſſiſted him very much, in foreſeeing the Events of which he ſpoke: For an Underſtanding naturally

* φωνή τις, Apud Plat. in Apol. ἢ τινα φωνὴν ἔδοξα αὐτόθεν ἀκοῦσαι, in Phædro. Et φωνὴ φαίνεσθαι σημαίνουσα. ApudXen. in Apol. μαντικόν γέ τι ἢ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐμὲ φησὶ θορύξωμόν τι ἢ πάλαι λέγοντα τον λόγον. In Phæd.

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naturally ſo clear as his, train'd up in a long ſtudy of Philoſophy, and that by an attentive Obſervation of the Manners and of the Affairs of Men, had acquired a more than common Facility to Reaſon of the particular Circumſtances of Life, ought certainly to ſee more clear than others, and to diſcover many Things that paſs away unregarded by the Prudence of the Vulgar: But to prove there was nothing ſupernatural in all this, whenever his Advice was aſked in Things extreamly obſcure, and into which Reaſon could not penetrate, he ſent his Friends to the Oracles to know whether they might engage themſelves in ſuch Things or not. We have a famous Example upon this Subject in the Perſon of *Xenophon* himſelf, who having received Letters from his Friend *Proxenus*, inviting him into *Aſia* to the Service of the younger *Cyrus*, imparted them to *Socrates*, and aſked his Opinion about it, who made him no other Anſwer, but that he ought to go and conſult the Oracle of *Delphi*: For if what *Plato* ſays in the *Theages* touching this Dæmon of *Socrates*, ought to be taken ſtrictly, according to the Letter, it may be aſked, why *Socrates* did not without more ado, tell *Xenophon* whether his Voyage would be fortunate or not, without giving him the Trouble of going to *Delphi* to be reſolved? Ought this Voice, which, as *Plato* makes him ſay in the Apology, ſpoke to him very often, and even for trivial Things, as *Crito*'s going to take a Walk, *Charmidas*'s Journey of Pleaſure, and the like, to have been ſilent in an Occaſion like this, when lay at Stake the whole Fortune of an intimate Friend, whoſe Loſs would have been very unfortunate to him? * But what Matter whether it ſpoke or not? Ought not its Silence

In the beginning of the 3d Book of the Expedition of Cyrus the younger.

* ἐν μετὰ τῶ πρόθεν χρόνω παντί, παυ πύκνη αἰεὶ ἦν ἡ φάνη ἐπί σμικροῖς ἐναντιωμένη. Plat. in Apul.

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lence to have been taken as a good Preſage? For ſeeing this Voice never made it ſelf be heard, but only to give *Socrates* Notice that what was propoſed ought not to be done, it neceſſarily follows, that if he did not hear it when *Xenophon* ſpoke to him of his Deſign, it was an infallible Token, that this Dæmon did not oppoſe his Voyage, that *Xenophon* had nothing to fear upon that Account, and by Conſequence that *Socrates* ought to have made no Scruple to encourage him to go. Is it not from a like Silence of his Dæmon that *Plato* makes him draw this Preſage, that Death is not an Ill, becauſe on the Morning of the very Day he was condemned to Death, when he was going out of his Houſe to appear before his Judges, he heard not this Voice, which, ſays he, would not have failed to have given him the uſual Sign, if any Misfortune were to have happened to him? In the Affair therefore of *Xenophon*, if he heard his Voice, he ought to have ſtopt him; if he heard it not, he ought to have encouraged him to the Voyage: What then is the Meaning that he ſends him to another Place, and gives him no Advice himſelf, ſeeing he ought to have grounded a certain Conjecture, either on the Silence of his Dæmon, or on its Speaking?

ἐάν τις μοι τῶν φιλῶν ἀνακοινῶται καὶ γὴν ται ἡ φωνὴ ταυτὸν τοῦτο ἀποτρέπει καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ πράττειν. In Theag.

Theſe are the chief Opinions that can be alledged touching this Dæmon of *Socrates*: It would be very tedious, and perhaps uſeleſs, to examine in particular the Reaſons that are alledged for each of them; the rather becauſe, to ſay true, in a Matter ſo obſcure, and ſo remote from us, and that has been ſo long in Conteſtation, we cannot pretend to eſtabliſh any Thing for ſo certain, but that ſome Doubts and Difficulties will ſtill remain to be removed. Not but

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but that of all the Opinions, this laſt is the moſt plauſible, becauſe what is natural, is always moſt likely. But on the other Hand, when the Queſtion is to oppoſe ſo many great Men, who held that *Socrates* had truly a familiar Spirit to aſſiſt him; when we are to call in Doubt the Belief of his own Age, that Opinion being then generally received; I know not how we can bring Conjectures ſtrong enough to perſuade intirely the contrary. For after all, it muſt be owned, that there muſt have been in him ſomething very particular, and that ſeemed altogether ſupernatural, to have given Occaſion to thoſe of his own Time, and to ſo many eminent Authors who came after, to give Credit to what he ſaid of his Dæmon. And had there been nothing elſe wonderful in it but this, that he never was miſtaken in any Thing he foretold, would not this be enough to Ground a violent Conjecture upon, that he acted not by the Way of human Underſtanding only, which ſo often miſtakes. However it were, as it is not forbid to ſearch Explications for the Words of *Socrates* upon this Subject, ſo we may freely, according to the moſt received Opinion, ſtick to the literal Senſe of what *Plato* and *Xenophon* have written concerning it: But in this Caſe, we ſhould have no Reaſon to aſcribe to an evil Dæmon this favourable Aſſiſtance, from which *Socrates* reaped ſo great Advantage in the Conduct of his Life, as *Tertullian* ſeems to have believed it was: For indeed, if we conſider the Innocence of the Manners of *Socrates*; if we reflect on the excellent Philoſophy he introduced into *Greece*, and to which he gave ſuch Credit by his Example; if we call to Mind that he

διεβοήθη γὰρ ἐκ ἠρέμα τὸ Σωκράτες Ἀθηναίοις δαιμόνιον. Plut.

Aiunt Dæmonium illi a puero adhæſiſſe, peſſimum revera Pædagogum. Tertul. de Anim.

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he made it his whole Employment to inculcate Virtue into the Hearts of Men, and that he made War againſt Vice in all Perſons wherever he found it, without any Regard to the Misfortunes he might thereby run himſelf into; it is very difficult to believe, that he had any Communication with an evil Dæmon, who drives Men into thoſe very Faults, from which he laboured to retrieve them. It could not be from ſo dangerous a Converſation, that he received ſo many excellent Notions of the Divine Goodneſs and Providence. It could not be from thence, that he received that profound Tranquillity of Mind, or that wonderful and almoſt unconceiveable Diſintereſt and Unconcern for all Things here below. He underwent all the Hardſhips and Troubles of Life: He lived in the Republick, when it began to fall off from its antient Diſcipline, and when Democracy was mounted to the higheſt Pitch of Inſolence. He lived under the Dominion of Tyrants after the Overthrow of the Commonwealth: He was in the Wars: He dwelt in the City: He was afflicted in his Family, and at length he ſaw his Enemies triumph over his Innocence: Yet for all this, he never loſt that Evenneſs of Temper and Countenance that was always obſerved in him, but remained unſhaken in the midſt of theſe Storms, and the more his Fortune frowned, the more he increaſed his Fortitude. Senec. Epiſt. 104.

Some have thought fit to blame him, becauſe he would never concern himſelf with State-Affairs; but contented himſelf to diſcourſe of Virtue only: And they object againſt him, that if he had ſo earneſt a Deſire to reform the *Athenians*, he ought to have gone to the general Aſſemblies of the People, and there in preſence

Anſwer to ſuch as object againſt Socrates that he ought to have intermeddled in State-Affairs.

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preſence of all the Citizens, to have laid open all the Abuſes at which he took Offence in the Lives of particular Men, and in the Adminiſtration of the Republick. And, indeed, this Objection ſeems yet more reaſonable, if we reflect on the Cuſtoms of thoſe Times: For the Republick of *Athens* being a Government meerly popular, and the Reſolutions of all the important Affairs being taken in the Aſſemblies of the People, they were held regularly every four or five Weeks, beſides the extraordinary Aſſemblies that were convoked by the Magiſtrates, according to the Occurrences of Affairs. In theſe Aſſemblies every one had Leave to ſpeak, and to make his Remonſtrances: To this End the Criers cried aloud theſe Words. WHOEVER HATH A MIND TO SPEAK, LET HIM RISE UP, and this publick Cry it was that gave the Great Orator occaſion to ſay, that he ſeemed to hear the Voice of his Country, calling out to her Children to give her loyal and uſeful Advices. It was likewiſe permitted to every one to have Employments, and to ſhare in the Government of the Publick: Meanneſs of Birth and Condition excluded no Man. Would not *Socrates* therefore have done better to have taken Advantage of theſe Occaſions, to declare himſelf againſt the Corruption of Manners, and to endeavour to reform the State? But to this he anſwers in *Plato*, that the Divinity which guided him, and that he durſt not reſiſt, had always forbid him to appear in theſe great Aſſemblies, or to engage himſelf in the publick Affairs: For it cannot be

Short deſcription of the Commonwealth of Athens.

περὶ στεφανῶ.

Demoſth.

Ariſtides got this Law to paſs in favour of the poorer People, who by the Laws of Solon could have no Employments.

In Apol.

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be doubted, but that if he had entered into publick Employments, he would ſoon have been made a Sacrifice to the Injuſtice of the Government, ſeeing he would never have complied with the Corruptions of the Age: And, as he ſays himſelf, if he had died in that Manner, his Loſs would have cauſed no Manner of Good. On the contrary, we know by Experience, that an early Death, would have prevented him from ſowing his Doctrine in the Hearts of the Citizens, and from cultivating, with Efficacy, that Philoſophy which was the true Employment to which he was deſtined. And thus by deſiring to ſerve the Republick in a Station, in which he could have been of no Uſe to her, he had taken away from himſelf the Means of ſerving her, in the Way that was moſt for her Advantage; but this proceeded not from any Apprehenſion he had of Death; for his uſual Method of inquiring into the Conduct of particular Perſons, and of cenſuring their Faults, was not without Danger, ſince in the End it cauſed his Ruin. Nevertheleſs, we know, that being condemned, he ſaid, That if they would give him his Life upon Condition that he would no longer purſue that Courſe, he would refuſe the Offer; which plainly ſhews, that it was not out of Fear that he would not be ſeen in the Tribunals, there to ſpeak to no Purpoſe againſt Abuſes that were authorized with the Name of Liberty, but merely an Effect of Prudence, conſidering it was impoſſible to gain his Ends that Way, and that it would have ruined his Deſign, to endeavour to puſh it on too faſt. It was a much ſurer Way to have to do with a ſmall Number of Perſons, by whom he could with more Eaſe and greater Utility, make his Reaſons be underſtood, than to have ſpoken in the Preſence of an untractable Multitude, who would ſometimes do Ill, to ſhew they had the Power of doing ſo, and who believed that Virtue was only a Name, that could

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could not but do them hurt. At leaſt, theſe are the Thoughts of *Xenophon*, in his Treatiſe of the Government of the *Athenians*, where he tells us, that the beſt of Men were every Day oppreſſed by the Factions of the meaner People, who to preſerve in themſelves the Sovereign Authority, more willingly hearkened to the Voice of a Profligate, whom they believed well-affected to their Intereſt, than to the Counſels of a Man of Honour, whom they always had ſuſpected of the contrary. For, indeed, all good Men are ever Enemies of the Diſorders that reign in popular States; and the meaner Sort of People, who care for nothing but to maintain themſelves in Power and Authority, would rather be Maſters in a corrupt Republick, than Subjects in a well-governed State. Thus, when he reflects of this Form of Government, he ſays admirably well, that he forgives a People that love to govern, becauſe every Man loves his own Advantage, but that if any one who was not born in a City ſo governed, came to fix his Abode there, rather than under an Ariſtocracy, he ſhould believe of him, that he intended to lead an ill Life, and thought it would be eaſier for him to eſcape Puniſhment under the Government of the Populace, than in the Juriſdiction of Men of Honour.

For this Reaſon, therefore, *Socrates* did well not to appear in the Aſſemblies of the People, not to imbroil himſelf in the Affairs of ſo depraved a Republick. However, that it might not be laid to his Charge that he ſpared himſelf too much, he was contented to be once in his Life one of the Senate, and preſented himſelf to that Office at the Age of ſixty-three Years, when to crown ſo excellent a Life, he ſeemed to want nothing but to ſeek the Occaſion of a glorious Death: And it wanted but little that this had then happened to him, as ſhall be ſaid

Socrates a Senator.

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ſaid when we have ſeen what this Senate was, and how he came to be one of it.

Of the Senate of 500. Sigonius de Rep. Athen. Sam. Petitus Leges Atticæ, lib. 3.

This Senate was compoſed of five hundred Perſons, and for that Reaſon was called the *Senate of the Five Hundred.* Any of the Citizens might be received in it, provided they were above thirty Years of Age; but they continued in it but one Year, at the End of which new Senators were created in the Room of thoſe that went out: And this was one of the Things in which this Senate differed from that of the *Areopagus*, where the Places were for Life.

Election of the Senators.

They were elected in this Manner. All the People of *Athens* were divided into ten Tribes, each of which ſent fifty Senators of their own Body, who were drawn by Lots in a particular Aſſembly of each Tribe, in the following Manner.

The Names of thoſe who ſtood to be Senators were engraved upon ſmall Plates of Braſs, and put into a Jar, and in another Jar a like Number of Beans, fifty of which were white, the others black: And at the ſame Time that they drew the Name of a Citizen out of the Jar in which were the Lots, they drew out of the other a Bean, and he who happened to have a white Bean, was of the Senate. Hence it is, that in the *Greek* Authors, there is ſo frequent mention of Beans, there being Reaſon enough to ridicule a Cuſtom, that often advanced Fools to Imployments in the Common-wealth: Which was the Reaſon why *Socrates* laughed at it, as our Author ſays; and this was not forgiven him by his Enemies, who put a malicious Conſtruction on all his Diſcourſes, and interpreted them as Seeds of Novelty and Sedition.

κυαμευτοὶ ἀρχαὶ.

All

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Function of this Senate.

All the Concerns of the Republick passed through this Senate: They took Cognisance of the Military Affairs, and of the Treasury, they had an Eye upon the Polity, and on the Accidents that happened every Day in the City, they expedited the Affairs of the Allies, they took Care of the Revenues, Temples, and Arsenals. They were chiefly charged to examine all the Counsels that were to be proposed in the general Assemblies: For no Proposition could be made to the People, that had not been first debated in this Senate; and this had been so ordered by the Legislature, that the People might not be deceived.

Xenoph. de Rep. Athen.

But it being difficult that the whole Senate together should attend the publick Business, because of the great Number of the Officers, an Order was made, that the Senators of each Tribe should manage all the Affairs for five Weeks; after which, another Tribe entered upon Duty, and thus they took their Turns; insomuch that in a Years Time all the ten Tribes were imployed one after another.

These Senators, while they were in this Function, were called *Prytans*, and the Time they continued in it was called a *Prytany*, which, as we said before, lasted five Weeks, during which Time the People assembled regularly four Times, and were called the *Ordinary Assemblies*. Moreover, among these Senators who were in Business, there were ten who presided over the others, but kept that Office but a Week, that all the fifty might have the same Honour in their Turns while the Tribe governed; and one of these ten Presidents was called the *Epistate*, that is to say, Intendant, and he kept his Magistracy but one Day, and

The President of the Senate.

The Epistate.

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and could have it but once in his Life, it being forbid by the Law to be *Epistate* more than once, because of the Importance of that Trust. For he who had that Office kept the Keys of the Fortress, and of the Treasure of the Republick, and the Constitution or Form of the State was trusted in his Hands. And therefore, lest being furnished with so fair an Opportunity, he should be tempted to make himself a Tyrant, it was expresly forbid to be admitted into that Office above once, and to continue in it above one Day; at the Expiration of which, another of the ten Presidents took upon him the same Employment:

δὶς ἐκ ἐξεῖναι τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἐπιστάτην. Pollux. l. 8. c. 9.

These were the Offices that *Socrates* executed; for having been drawn among those of his Tribe to be a Senator, he was President too in his Turn; and came likewise to the Sovereign Office of *Epistate*, or Intendant of the Republick. He confesses in the *Gorgias* that his Fellow Senators laughed at him at first, because he was not well acquainted with all the little Formalities of Justice, and that he made them laugh when he came to tell the Votes of the Assembly, in order to draw up an Act of the Senate. But if he were less versed in Affairs than they, he was in Recompence more firm and more bold in Defence of Justice, and to oppose the hair-brained Multitude. This was evident enough in the Trial of the Admirals who were accused while his Tribe governed, and for whom he most generously ventured his Life, in refusing to give his Consent to the Injustice was done them.

ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενόμενος. Xenoph. l. 1. Memorab.

These

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Important Affair that happened while Socrates was Senator. Xenoph. 2. ἑλληνικῶν.

These were the Admirals who had fought the *Lacedæmonians* at the Islands *Arginusæ*, and who after having gained a great Victory over them at Sea, were forced to answer for their own Lives before a furious People, who out of a cruel Superstition would absolutely put them to Death. The Rage of the People was grounded upon this, that they had taken no Care of the dead Bodies of those that were killed in the Engagement, which highly offended the Devotion of the *Athenians*, a main Part of whose Religion consisted in paying the last Duties to the Dead. Nevertheless, these Generals were not without Excuse; for they had given Command to some of the Captains of the Ships to take Care to do it, but they could not execute their Orders, because of the tempestuous Weather. And perhaps these Reasons would have prevailed in the Assembly of the People, among whom there were several Persons who were of Opinion, that the Inconstancy of the Winds and Seas ought not to be imputed to them, and who began to declare themselves in their Favour; but their Enemies set so many Springs to Work, that this little Goodwill and Compassion disappeared in a Moment. Whole Families came in against them, demanding Vengeance for the Misfortunes of their Relations, who remained unburied. Nay, a certain Person was produced, who pretended that he escaped upon a Barrel of Provisions, and was charged to tell the People in Behalf of those who were drowned, that the Admirals had not taken Care of the brave Men, who so freely exposed themselves for the Safety of the Republick. The People, as their Custom is, suffered themselves to be imposed upon by this Cheat, and contrived Imposture; insomuch, that they presented themselves in a tumultuous Manner, to

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to give their Voices in an Affair that concerned the Lives of ſo many illuſtrious Citizens: And the Magiſtrates were compelled to yield to the Violence. *Socrates* alone reſiſted, proteſting that he would never conſent to a Thing that was againſt the Laws, which were ſeveral Ways infringed by this Judgment. The Orators who accuſed the Admirals, would have accuſed him alſo, as a ſeditious Perſon, and the People cried out aloud, that to oppoſe them in this, was to take away their Liberty. The Danger was great, and there was as little likelihood that his Reſolution would advantage the Admirals, as there was Reaſon to fear it would prove ruinous to himſelf. Nevertheleſs he ſtill perſiſted, how uſeleſs ſoever his Conſtancy was, and how fatal ſoever it might prove to him. He adhered to the Side of Juſtice, without Regard to the Event of his Choice, chooſing rather to periſh in ſupporting a good Cauſe, than to ſhelter himſelf from Danger by not oppoſing a bad. The People however proceeded to the Extremity. The Admirals were condemned to Death, and their Eſtates confiſcated.

Socrates ſupports Innocence with the Danger of his Life.

This horrible Brutality of the *Athenians* was followed by a ſuitable Succeſs: For the Year after, their Fleet that was weakened by the Loſs of ſo many Chiefs, was attacked unawares on the Coaſts of the *Helleſpont*, by *Lyſander* General of the *Lacedæmonians*, who having taken all their Veſſels, except eight or nine only, with three thouſand Priſoners whom he put to Death, came before *Athens* with a great Fleet, while an Army from *Peloponneſus*, under the Command of the Kings of *Sparta*, drew near to the Walls on the Side of *Attica*. This wretched People ſeeing themſelves beſieged

Puniſhment of the Injuſtice of the Athenians. Xenoph. 2. Hiſt. Diod. Plut. in vita Lyſand.

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ſieged by Sea and Land, deſtitute of all Relief, and afflicted with a horrible Famine, were compelled to beg Peace of their Enemies, whom before they had deſpiſed with ſo much Arrogance. It was then debated at *Lacedæmon*, whether they ſhould raze *Athens*, or accept of the Place upon Terms. Several were of Opinion to treat them with the utmoſt Rigour, but the Memory of the ſignal Services they had rendered to all *Greece* in the War with *Perſia*, and the Reſpect they had for the many great Men who had been born in that City were the Reaſons it was ſpared, and that the Conquerors were content only with demoliſhing the Fortifications. Sometime after, the Diſſentions being renewed among the Citizens, upon Account of the Government, *Lyſander* took Occaſion to change the Form of it. He aboliſhed the Democracy, and eſtabliſhed thirty Men, to whom he gave the Sovereign Authority, and theſe are they who were renowned in the Hiſtory of that Age, by the Name of *The Thirty*. The City was never more unfortunate than under this Government; nothing was ſeen but Cruelty and Rapine, nothing ſpoken of but Baniſhment and Aſſaſſinations, the Thirty getting themſelves rid of the Citizens, as faſt as they grew diſpleaſing to them.

Athens taken, and the Fortifications demoliſhed.

Diodor. lib. 14. Plutarch in vita. Lyſand.

Socrates had the Misfortune to ſee *Critias*, who had been one of his Diſciples, among theſe Tyrants, and to be one of the firſt whom he perſecuted. Some Words which he had ſaid formerly, with the Liberty he was wont to take, when he inveighed againſt Vice, had irritated his ill Temper: And Time that effaceth ſo many Thoughts, had not been able to wipe from his Mind the Deſire of Revenge: Nor was it difficult for him to find an Opportunity, after he

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he was come to that hateful Power that was raiſed on the Ruins of Liberty. The Tyrannical Adminiſtration of the Thirty gave *Socrates* Subjects enough to ſpeak, and to render himſelf guilty anew. *Xenophon* takes notice of the ill Offices he received from the Hands of *Critias*; with how much Rigour he treated him, when he knew he had ſpoken ill of that Government, and how he forbid him to diſcourſe with the Youth. This Perſecution from the part of a Man, at whoſe Hands he had reaſon to hope for better Uſage, ought to have ſatisfied the People, who bore *Socrates* a grudge, becauſe this Tyrant had been his Diſciple. It is true, his Audacioufneſs and Cruelty were very great, and capable to weary out the Patience of the *Athenians*, but what had *Socrates* to do with it? Was he obliged to anſwer for a Man who had left his Converſation long before, and that too only becauſe he would not be told of his Faults?

Socrates hated becauſe of Critias.

This, however, was of ſo ill Conſequence to him in his Trial, that *Æſchines*, the Orator, who lived ſoon after, reproaches the [illegible] *tians* in expreſs Terms, that they put *Socrates* to Death only becauſe he had inſtructed *Critias*. And this is the Reaſon that *Xenophon* takes ſuch Pains to juſtify him upon this Point, and to ſhew in what manner *Critias* embraced the Study of Philoſophy, how he withdrew from it, and the little Converſation he had had with *Socrates*; and this he does to prove with how much Malice the Accuſers of that Philoſopher laid hold of this Pretence to prevail with the People to conſent to his Death. Now the reſt of the Tyrants, who took Umbrage at the Virtue of *Socrates*, and who were much offended at the Liberty he aſſumed in ſpeaking of their Actions, thought it not enough that *Critias*

Oratione in Timarchium, & Maximus Ser. Diſſertat. 8.

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had forbid him to talk with the young Men. Another time they commanded him to go take a Citizen of *Salamis*, whom they intended to put to Death, that they might confiscate his Estate: (Actions like this were very frequent with them) They thought, perhaps, that if *Socrates* could once have been drawn in to be an Accomplice of their Crimes, he would then be obliged to say nothing of them: But he would not execute this tyrannical Commission: He retired to his own House instead of going where they commanded him. He valued not that they had Power to punish him; but rested himself content that they had not Strength enough to compel him to do an ill Action. Four others, to whom the same Order was given, had not Courage to disobey like *Socrates*; but went to *Salamis*, and brought their Prisoner.

* But this was not the sole Occasion in which he durst resist the Will of the Thirty. *Diodorus Siculus*, in the 14th Book of his History, relates, that *Critias* having procured a Sentence of Death against *Theramenes*, who was himself one of the Thirty, but displeasing to the rest of them, because he was too honest a Man; as they were leading him to Death, after they had taken him by force from the Altar, whither he had fled for Protection; among an

* Plutarch, in the Lives of the ten Orators, attributes this Action to Isocrates, unless the Text be corrupted in that Place, as it is in many others. Amyot has thought fit to correct it, and has put in the Name of Socrates, believing no doubt, but it had been altered: But this Passage well deserves to be examined after him. For as to the Passage in Diodorus, it is clear, and I cannot see that there is any Reason to suspect that he writ it otherwise than we read it. Yet Xenophon in the 2d Book of the Greek History, describing very particularly what passed at the Death of Theramenes, speaks not of this Action, which nevertheless seems too remarkable to have been forgot by a Disciple of Socrates.

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an infinite number of People, who pitied him, *Socrates* alone, accompanied with two of his Friends, had the Courage to endeavour to rescue him from the Hands of the Executioners, but no Man seconding him, and the Guards of the Tyrants coming up to the Assistance of their Companions, he was constrained to yield to the Number, as well as to the earnest Intreaties of *Theramenes* himself, who conjured him to retire, saying, That the greatest Misfortune that could happen to him would be, to be the Cause of their Death who had so much Affection for him.

It cannot be doubted, but this Generosity would not have been forgiven him, if the Tyranny had continued any longer: That he was Poor, would have availed him nothing, as he said to *Antisthenes*, that his Poverty was the Reason that the Thirty durst not put him to Death, and that Men in his Circumstances were not fit Subjects for Tragedy. They would at last have got rid of him; he had too much irritated some who desired nothing more than his Destruction. But he had the Satisfaction to see their Tyranny pulled down, and himself survive their Death.

However, he survived them but a short time, and his Enemies [for Envy, which never ceases to persecute Men like him, had procured him some of all Sorts] taking the advantageous Opportunity of the Confusion of the State, and of this Circumstance to boot, that the People hated him upon Account of *Critias*, resolved to accuse him openly upon pretended Crimes, by means of which, they cunningly gained the Minds of the People, so that their Design succeeded to their Wish. His Accusers were *Anytus*, *Melitus*, and *Lycon*. *Anytus* was the Chief, and he who stirred up the others. He hated *Socrates*, because he had always spoken very much against the Frauds that were commonly committed by such as

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throw themſelves into the Imployments of the Republick. And *Libanius* even ſays, that after the Accuſation was given in, he acquainted *Socrates* underhand, that if he would ceaſe to talk ſo freely, he would find means to ſtifle that Affair. The Quarrel which *Melitus* had againſt *Socrates*, was, becauſe he had but little Regard for the Poets, of whom that young Man was very fond. And it is held, that *Lycon* declared himſelf his Enemy, on Account of the Sophiſts.

Accuſation of Socrates. Plato in Eutiphrone.

Melitus took upon him to draw up the Accuſation, and preſented it in Writing to the king of *Athens*, who was a Magiſtrate that bore the Name of King, in Memory of the City's having been formerly governed by Kings, and who received all Accuſations for Crimes of Impiety, Robbery, and Sacriledge, and then laid the Affair before the Judges.

Julius Pollix l. 8. & Harpocratio in voce, γυμνία δικάζειν.

The Accuſation of *Melitus* againſt *Socrates* was conceived in theſe Words.

MELITUS, SON OF MELITUS, OF THE PEOPLE OF PYTHOS, ACCUSES SOCRATES, SON OF SOPHRONISCUS, OF THE PEOPLE OF ALOPECÆ.

SOCRATES IS CRIMINAL, BECAUSE HE ACKNOWLEDGES NOT THE GODS THAT THE REPUBLICK ACKNOWLEDGES AND BECAUSE HE INTRODUCES NEW DEITIES. HE IS FARTHER CRIMINAL, BECAUSE HE CORRUPTS THE YOUTH.

FOR HIS PUNISHMENT *DEATH.*

Of the ſeveral Peoples of Attica. Arist. Pol. c. 3. Sigon. de Republ. Ath. l. 1. c. 2. Thucyd. l. 2.

Theſe are the very Words of the Accuſation, as we find them in *Diogenes*. But it will not be amiſs to obſerve, why *Socrates* is here called, of the People of *Alopecæ*;

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pecæ; and how this Way of describing Persons came to be in Use among the *Athenians:* This Remark may be useful in other Places as well as here. It is said, That in antient Times all the open Country of *Attica* was divided into little Peoples, that is to say, into Towns or Villages: For we must observe, that what others called a Town the *Athenians* called a People: Each of these Peoples, or Districts, had a particular Judicature, and had nothing in common with one another, except that all of them acknowledged the King of *Athens*, though now and then some of them made War against him. This lasted from their first Kings to the Days of *Theseus*, who, by his Cunning and Authority, united all these scattered and several Peoples, abolished their particular Jurisdictions, and brought all their Courts of Justice to *Athens*, which was the Abode of the Kings, and made but one People and one City, of all the Peoples or Cities of *Attica:* Which the Interpreter of *Thucydides* explains, not that he compelled all the Inhabitants of *Attica* to live in *Athens*, but only to acknowledge it as their common City, and to consider themselves as Children all of the same Mother. From thence forward they were all registered Citizens of that City, whether they actually dwelt in it, as from that time many came to do, which encreased it extreamly all at once, or whether the Pleasantness of the Country had allured them back to their old Abodes.

Plutarch says the contrary, but the Opinion of this Scholiast being grounded on the Text of Thucydides, is much more likely to be true.

They enjoyed all of them the same Priviledges, and the same Honours: They had an equal Right to be present in the Assemblies that were held to deliberate on Affairs of State; and a Man born in any of the other Cities was as much a Citizen of *Athens*, as one born within the Walls of the Castle. But

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though by this Means there was a very ſtrict Union between the Citizens, though the common Habitation of thoſe that ſettled themſelves in *Athens* ſtrengthened this Union yet more, and though even ſome of theſe ſmall Peoples, with all their Hamlets, found themſelves ſhut up within the Incloſure of the Walls of the City, by the different and many Augmentations of it, and though they made indeed a Part of the ſame Whole; nevertheleſs, the particular Perſons ſtill retained their former Denominations, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the Name of the People, or City, from which they were deſcended. They all called themſelves *Athenians*, but then one was deſcended from the People of *Alopecæ*, as *Socrates*; another from the People of *Scambonidæ*, as *Alcibiades*; another from the People of *Colytus*, as *Plato*; and another from the People of *Erchia*, as *Xenophon*: And they were ſo curious of this Diſtinction which marked their Origin, that they had ſeparate Regiſters, where they inrolled all the Names of thoſe that were of one and the ſame People, and every one was obliged to get himſelf entered in the Regiſter of his own; which they did at the Age of Twenty Years, after which a young Man entered into Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, and was capable of having Employments. Some Authors teach us, that in *Attica* there were no leſs than a Hundred ſeventy-four Towns or Peoples, ſuch as we have deſcribed, and of whom were compoſed the ten Tribes of the *Athenians*, who together, made up the whole Republick; and in one of thoſe Tribes, which was called *Antichiodes*, was compriſed the People of *Alopecæ*, from whom *Socrates* was ſurnamed, becauſe he was deſcended from the People who came from that Town, which, it is likewiſe obſerved, was very near to *Athens*, and almoſt joining to the Walls. Now the Accuſer was aware not to forget this Sur-

Pollux. l. 8. c. 9 Memſius de populis Attic.

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name when he spoke of *Socrates*, because there was a Law at *Athens* which ordered, that in all Sorts of Affairs should be used not only the proper Name of the Person, but likewise the Name of his Father and of his People, to prevent all Frauds and Mistakes. Let us now pursue our Story, and return to this Illustrious Accused.

No sooner was the Conspiracy of *Melitus* noised abroad, than the Friends of *Socrates* prepared for his Defence. The Orator *Lysias* brought him an Harangue that he had composed for him, to the End he might get it by Heart, if he thought fit to pronounce it when Time should serve. *Socrates* read it with Pleasure, and found it well made. Nevertheless, because it was written more according to the Rules of Rhetorick, than the Sincerity of a Philosopher, he told him frankly it was not proper for him. Upon which, *Lysias* asking him, how it was possible that the Discourse should be well made, and not proper for him? he answered, In the same Manner as a good Suit of Cloaths, or a Pair of Shoes may be well made, but not fit for me.

Diogen. Cicero. 1. de oratore.

But others relate this Passage with more Moroseness on the Part of *Socrates*, and say, that he rejected it in a very rough Manner, declaring, that if he had been capable of pronouncing such a Discourse, even in the Desarts of *Scythia*, he should think himself unworthy to live. *Plato* presented himself likewise before the Judges, designing to speak for him, and got up into the Place of the Orators, though he was not thirty Years old, as he ought to have been; because before that Age the Orators were not permitted to speak in publick; but no sooner had he opened his Mouth to excuse himself on Account of his Age, than he was commanded to hold his Peace and retire. Nor indeed was it necessary that any

Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 4.

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one ſhould concern himſelf in Defence of *Socrates*, his Innocence ſtood not in need of an Apology: At leaſt it wanted not the Art of an Orator, or any Tongue but his own, to plead in his Defence.

Trial of Socrates. Plat. in Apol.

He appeared before his Judges, and anſwered himſelf to the Calumnies of his Accuſers, with ſuch a Strength of Mind, and ſo innocent a Confidence, as would have been alone ſufficient to abſolve him, if he had had to do with Men leſs partial and leſs paſſionate. This was the firſt time of his Life that he had been in the Courts where Juſtice was rendered to Criminals: For this Reaſon in *Plato*, he deſires to be excuſed if he employ not the Terms that are uſed in thoſe Places, becauſe he had as much Right to be pardoned on that Account, as a Foreigner who ſpeaks ill the Language of another Country than his own. Perhaps this Circumſtance of *Socrates* Life may paſs by unregarded; nevertheleſs, it is a certain Mark of his Moderation, and of the Contempt he had for all worldly Intereſt, ſeeing he ſo little concerned himſelf in the Affairs of diſtributive Juſtice. For we ought to know, that beſides the Senate of the *Areopagus*, which had the Direction of the Affairs of State, there were in *Athens*, ſeveral Tribunals to render Juſtice to private Perſons: We read of Ten of them, ſome of which were compoſed of five hundred Judges. This might ſeem ſtrange for one ſingle City, were we not informed, that beſides that the *Athenians* were very litigious themſelves, all the Allies and Subjects of the Republick were obliged to have their Controverſies at Law decided at *Athens*, which brought into that City ſuch a Multiplicity of Buſineſs, that Perſons have been obliged

Great number of Judges at Athens. Leges Atticæ lib. 4. tit. 1.

Xenoph. in Rep. Athen.

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obliged to ſtay there a whole Year, before they could be diſpatched. The Citizens failed not to give in their Names for a Judge's Place in one of theſe Tribunals, becauſe it was ſome ſmall Profit to them: And to be Judges, was almoſt the ſole Imployment that the poorer Sort of People could hope for in the State: Becauſe all the other Offices being expenſive, none but the Rich could undertake them. It is certain *Socrates* had as much Right as others to lay claim to that Office, and was Poor enough not to neglect the leaſt Occaſion of Profit, if his Mind had not raiſed him above mean and mercenary Thoughts. Ibidem.

In the Diſcourſe he made in his own Juſtification his chief Care was to clear himſelf from the Crimes of Impiety, and of corrupting the Youth: For as to Death, he valued it not in the leaſt; and even ſaid, that having twice ſet himſelf to meditate what he ſhould ſay in his Defence, his Dæmon had diſſuaded him from it. Apud Xen. in Apol.

He anſwered to the firſt Article, that he was accuſed without Reaſon, of not acknowledging the Gods of the Republick, ſince he had been ſeen in the Temples aſſiſting at the Sacrifices on the Days of their ſolemn Feaſts, and that *Melitus* himſelf might have ſeen him there if he had thought fit. Anſwer of Socrates.

Moreover, as to his being accuſed of introducing new Deities, in ſaying that he ſeemed to hear a Divine Voice that gave him Admonitions, he proved that it was no new Thing to ſay, that the Gods make uſe of a Voice to make themſelves be underſtood by Men, for they who ground their Divination on the Cry of Birds, or on the Noiſe of Thunder, do not they receive their Intelligences from Voices? Does not the *Pythian* Prieſteſs at *Delphos* pronounce Xenoph. in Apol. Socr.

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the Oracles with her Voice? In ſhort, he had ſaid that a Dæmon diſcovered to him Things to come, whereas others pretend to know the future by Birds, or Sooth-ſayers; but he believed it better to ſay as he did, than to attribute a Divine Power to either. And then, to prove that he did not falſely boaſt of this Divine Aſſiſtance, he ſaid, that though he had admoniſhed ſeveral of his Friends of Things to come, he was never found to be a Liar. Upon this, there aroſe a great Noiſe among the Judges, ſome of them making a Jeſt at what he had ſaid, and others envying him, that he was thus favoured by Heaven; which could not but create in them an ill Diſpoſition of Mind to receive what he alledged afterwards: For to prove that he could not be guilty of the Crimes of which he was accuſed, he cited the Oracle of *Delphos*, which had declared him the Wiſeſt and moſt Juſt of all Men. At theſe Words his Judges made more Noiſe than before, which obliged him to aſk them, at what they were ſtartled? ſeeing the Oracle had done yet greater Honours to *Lycurgus*, the Legiſlator of the *Lacedæmonians*; for as he was going into the Temple, the God ſaluted him with theſe Words, *I am thinking whether I ought to call thee Man or God:* And yet none had taken Offence at it, as they now did at him. But, added he, if you will not ſo eaſily give Credit to the Oracle, who has ranked me above other Men, conſider farther in my Behalf; do you know any Man who is leſs a Slave to the Pleaſures of the Body, or who is leſs mercenary or more diſintereſted than myſelf, ſeeing I have never taken Preſents or deſired Rewards? Is not this to be an honeſt Man, to have contented myſelf ſo well with the Little I have, as never to have wiſhed for what was another's? Is it not a Mark of Wiſdom, never to have let ſlip one Moment, ſince I began to know any thing, without imploying myſelf in the Study of Virtue: And

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are you not convinced that my Endeavours in that Study have not been unsuccessful, since you know very well that I am sought after and courted on all Hands? How comes it to pass that no Man will say I am obliged to him, though many confess themselves greatly obliged to me? How came it to pass, that, during the Siege, so many Persons deplored their wretched Condition, and that I alone found myself no more incommoded, than when the City was in its most flourishing State? How comes it to pass that others pay excessive Rates for delicious Meats, and that I find within me wherewith to satisfy myself more agreeably with little or no Expence at all? And if none can accuse me of Lying in what I have now said of myself, why should I not receive the Approbation of the Gods, and the Applause of Men? And yet, *Melitus*, while this is my Course of Life, thou accusest me of corrupting the Youth: But tell me, dost thou know any young Man, who, in my Company, is, from Devout, grown to be Impious; from Modest, Insolent; from Thrifty, Prodigal; from Sober, a Drunkard; from Laborious, Lazy; or any that hath abandoned himself to pernicious Pleasures? I know many, says *Melitus*, whom thou hast drawn in to believe thee, rather than their own Fathers. I grant it, replied *Socrates*, but then it was relating to their Instruction, which was the Thing I chiefly studied. Thus a sick Man ought rather to believe a Physician than his own Father. Thus in the Assemblies of the People, every one believes rather him who gives good Advice, than his own Relations? Thus in the Choice of a General, you do not always give your Votes for your Brothers, your Fathers, or yourselves; but for those whom you believe to be most knowing in War. Is it not therefore strange, that in every Thing besides, he who is most expert should be honoured, and that I am accused and prosecuted even to Death, because I

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am thought capable to inſtruct Men? Thus it was that he anſwered the Calumnies of his Accuſers.

Cicero 1. de Oratore.

His Diſcourſe, his Behaviour, his Looks betrayed not in the leaſt the Accuſed; one would have taken him for the Maſter of his Judges, or for their Sovereign. In this Occaſion he was in the right to lay aſide that profound Modeſty which had accompanied him in all his Actions, and in all his Converſations: He ought once in his Life to do himſelf Juſtice; and as his Conſcience repreſented nothing to him but what was glorious to himſelf, it would have been want of Courage to have humbled himſelf more. A Diſcourſe more ſubmiſſive would have had ſome appearance of Weakneſs; and might have made it be believed that he intended to implore the Mercy of his Judges; and this was what he avoided with his utmoſt Care, being perſuaded that Prayers and Solicitations were unworthy of a Man like him, and that the Glory of the Republick, as well as his own, obliged him not to condeſcend ſo low.

The little Care therefore that he took not to flatter his Judges; and on the contrary, the many Things he ſaid that might exaſperate them, were the Cauſe that they gave Judgment againſt him, and declared him guilty of all the Crimes contained in the Accuſation of *Melitus*, without, nevertheleſs, ſaying any thing of the Puniſhment to which they condemned him. For it was a Cuſtom at *Athens*, not to give Sentence in Criminal Cauſes at one ſingle Hearing, they determined in the firſt Place, whether the accuſed were guilty or not, and if he was found Guilty, there remained for his laſt Refuge, to demand a Diminution of the Puniſhment, which his Accuſer had required againſt him: And upon that Demand of the Accuſed, the Judges gave their

Cicer. 1. de orat.

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their Votes a second time, and after that he received his last Sentence.

Socrates knew that he had Right to plead in Abatement of the Punishment, and that he might have procured that of Death to be changed into Banishment, Imprisonment, or a pecuniary Fine; but he openly declared that he would chuse none of these Punishments, because he should then confess himself Guilty. Besides, That he had no Money to pay; That he knew that Imprisonment and Exile were Evils, but as for Death, he knew not whether it was Good or Ill, and that therefore he freely consented to die. Nevertheless, *Diogenes* says, he offered five and twenty Drachmas, (about twelve Shillings) and others mention ten Crowns; nay, *Plato* makes him promise three hundred Crowns, for the Payment of which his Friends offered to engage.

But *Xenophon* says on the contrary, That he would neither tax himself, nor suffer his Friends to do it for him. Whatever the Truth of it be, what he said upon this Subject having incensed his Judges yet more against him, he again spoke to them thus. Certainly, Gentlemen, this is keeping you too long in Suspence upon the Judgment I ought to make of my self, and since you permit me to condemn my self to what I deserve, I Sentence my self to be nourished the rest of my Days in the * *Prytaneum* at the Expence of the Republick, in Consideration of the great Services I have rendered you. This last freedom

κελεύομεν ὑπολιμάσθαι, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὑποτιμήσαιτο, ἢ τις τῶν φίλων ἐθέλοι.

Xenoph. in Apol.

* This was as the Guild-Hall of the City, where such as had rendered any great Services to the State, and those who had won the Prize at the Olympick Games, were maintained at the Expence of the Republick.

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dom of Speech compleated his Deſtruction. His Judges fell into a Rage, and condemned him one and all to drink the Juice of Hemlock, a Sort of Puniſhment much uſed among them.

This Sentence, which is a Thunder-bolt to Criminals, made no Impreſſion upon his Soul: He ſaid, That Nature had already condemned him to Death, even from the Moment of his Birth. And *Apollodorus* coming up to him, and teſtifying his Sorrow for his dying Innocent; Had'ſt thou rather, ſaid he ſmiling, that I had been Guilty? *Anytus* and *Melitus* may indeed take away my Life, but it is not in their Power to hurt me. Xenoph. in Apol.

He ſaid alſo to thoſe that were about him; Certainly, Gentlemen, they who inſtructed the falſe Witneſſes to depoſe againſt me, and they who gave Credit to them, muſt have a Conſcience loaded with a deal of Injuſtice; but for my Part, I ſee not why I ſhould be more dejected than I was before, ſince I am not guilty of the Crimes for which I ſtand condemned. It has not been proved againſt me that I have ſacrificed to theſe new Deities, as they call them, nor that I have ſworn by them, nor that I have ſo much as mentioned them in my Diſcourſes. And can I be ſaid to have corrupted the Youth, I who taught them to live ſoberly and modeſtly? And certainly when I reflect what Crimes they are that are puniſhed with Death; Sacriledge, Robbery, the forcible Detention of free Perſons, Treaſons againſt the State; and that even my Enemies have not had the Impudence to lay any of theſe to my Charge, I am aſtoniſhed, and cannot conceive what Reaſon there was to condemn me. However, I ought not to be caſt down becauſe I am unjuſtly ſentenced to die a ſhameful Death; for the Ignominy falls not upon me, but on my Judges: *Palamedes* Ibid.

was

was taken off by a like Calumny; and it is a Comfort to me to see that his Name is now more Glorious than that of *Ulysses*, his Accuser. I assure my self too, that it will be said of me in Time to come, as it hath been hitherto, that I never offended nor debauched any one, but that I have obliged, to the utmost of my Power, all whom I have had an Opportunity to oblige, teaching gratuitously all the good Things that were within the Sphere of my Knowledge.

When he had ended thus, he walked with incredible Serenity of Mind towards the Prison where he was to die: And by chance seeing *Anytus* going along, he turned to his Friends, who followed him: That Man, says he, hugs himself very much, in that he has procured me to be condemned to Death, which he has done for no other Reason, but because seeing him raised to the first Employments of the Republick, I said, that he ought to breed up his Son to something more noble than the Traffick for which he designed him. But if Men, who are near their End, have, as *Homer* says, any Knowledge of the Future, I foretel that *Anytus* will be deceived; and that his Son, who has no ill Inclination, at least that I could discover in the short Time I knew him, will quit that mean Employment, and for want of a good Tutor fall into Debauchery. In which he was not mistaken; for that young Man, having plunged himself into Drunkenness, became incapable of every Thing, and served only to render the Memory of his Father yet more odious, for the ill Education he had given him. Ibidem.

The Friends of *Socrates* continued to visit him, during the thirty Days that passed between his Condemnation and his Death: Plato in Phædone & Xen. 1. de Memorab.

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The Cauſe of which long Delay was, that the *Athenians* yearly ſent a Ship to the Iſle of *Delos*, to perform ſome Sacrifices there; and it was againſt their Religion to put any one to Death in the City, from the Time that the Prieſt of *Apollo* had crowned the Head of that Ship, in Token of its Departure, 'till the ſame Veſſel was come back: And the Sentence having been pronounced againſt *Socrates* the Day after this Ceremony was performed, his Execution was of Neceſſity deferred for thirty Days, which paſſed in that Voyage.

During this Length of Time, Death had Leiſure to render it ſelf dreadful enough to ſhake his Conſtancy; and, in my Opinion, *Seneca* had juſt Reaſon to place among the great Actions of *Socrates*, his not having ſuffered himſelf to die of Famine, as he might have done, to deliver himſelf the ſooner from the cruel Expectations of Death, and from the Rigours of ſo ill an Abode. For the Priſon at *Athens* was only to keep Criminals in, and was ſometimes a more cruel Puniſhment than that for which they were reſerved. Doors and Bars alone were not thought ſufficient: They loaded beſides their Feet and Hands, and ſometimes their Neck, with great Pieces of Wood, to take from them not only all Hopes of Eſcape, but even the mutual Communication of the ſeveral Parts of the Body, which Nature teaches reciprocally to aſſiſt and ſuccour each other. *Socrates* was treated with no leſs Rigour than others, his Legs were chained in the Priſon, and it is ſaid in the *Phædo* of *Plato*, that the Morning of the Day on which he died, the Officers of Juſtice ordered him to be unchained. In this wretched State he enjoyed the ſame profound Tranquillity of Mind, that his Friends had always admired in him: He converſed with them with the ſame Sedateneſs of Temper he had ever done. He

Epiſt. 70.

even

even then composed a Hymn in Honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*, and turned into Verse a Fable of *Æsop*. *Themistius* speaks of this Hymn in his first Oration, and *Diogenes* cites the Beginning both of that and of the Fable too.

Mean while his Friends laid a Design for his Escape. *Crito* had bribed the Jaylor, and came to tell him that it was his Fault if he did not get away; and to this end offered him a Retreat in *Thessalia*. *Socrates* fell a laughing at this Proposal, and asked him, if there was any Place out of *Attica* where Men never died? Then told him, he would by no Means be beholden to that Stratagem, that such an Escape would be criminal, because it was a Violation of the Laws, which ought to be obeyed, though the unjust Magistrates had made use of them to destroy him: In short, that though an Injustice were done to him, he had no reason therefore to do an Injustice himself: And thus sent him away. Of these divine Opinions it is, that *Plato* has composed the Dialogue which he calls *Crito*, where this Story is related. For my own Part, I find nothing more noble in all the Life of *Socrates*: He seems to have surpassed even himself by this Action, which exceeded the Strength of human Philosophy: And, in my Opinion, by making his Escape, he would have done no more than what a good Man might have done.

At length the fatal Vessel came back to *Athens*, and brought *Socrates* leave to die. His Friends, who knew this Day to be his last, came in Crouds to the Prison early in the Morning, to announce to him this mournful News. He told them he had had Notice of it by a Dream two Days before, and related to them, how he had seen in his Sleep a Woman of wondrous Beauty,

Socrates Dream.

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Beauty, who having called him by his Name, repeated to him this Verſe of *Homer*,

Thou ſhalt within three Days at fertile * Phthia *be.*
Iliad. 9.

And that when he waked, he told *Æſchines*, he ſhould die within three Days. His Wives and his Children came likewiſe to ſee him, or, to ſpeak better, came to compleat the Trial of his Conſtancy with all the Tenderneſs of Nature. He left behind him three Sons, the eldeſt of which was in his Youth, and the two others in their Infancy. Theſe cannot be they whom we mentioned before; I mean *Lamprocles*, *Menexenus*, and *Sophroniſcus*; for *Plutarch* gives us to underſtand, that *Lamprocles* was dead before him, and *Stobæus* ſays the like of *Sophroniſcus*; which proves, that the three Children who ſurvived him, were only the Remains of a greater Number.

In this mournful Interview he was forced to ſuffer for ſome Time all the Wailings and uſeleſs Complaints that the Weakneſs of the Sex and Age generally draws from ſuch Perſons in like Occaſions. But at length, ſeeing that *Xantippe* was too much tranſported with Grief, and that her continual Cries hindered him from imploying more uſefully the few Moments he had yet to live, he got her to withdraw, deſiring *Crito* to take care to ſee her Home. He paſſed the reſt of the Day with his Friends, after his uſual Manner: He diſcourſed to them particularly of the Immortality of the Soul, of the Rewards that attend the Good, and of the Puniſhments that are prepared for the Wicked. This was his Preparation

* Phthia was the Country of Achilles; and Phthia gives us ſome Idea of Death, becauſe of the Reſemblance of this Word with the Verbs φθίομαι φθίω, which chiefly ſignify to be corrupted. De Dæmon. Socr. Ser. 106.

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Preparation till he took the Poiſon, which was never given to Criminals till after the Sun was down. 'Tis ſaid, that *Apollodorus* then brought him a handſome Suit of Cloaths, deſiring him to put them on before he died. *Socrates* ſmiled at his Care: And think you, ſaid he to him, that the Cloaths I have hitherto worn are fit to live in, and not fit to die in? To *Crito*, who asked him in what Manner he deſired they ſhould pay the laſt Dues to his dead Remains; he anſwered, how you pleaſe, provided I do not get away from you, for do you believe that after I have drunk the Poiſon, I ſhall continue ſtill here? No, no, this dead Body that will lie extended before you, will not be me: it will not be *Socrates*, whom you ſhall ſee carried to the Grave, or laid on a Funeral Pile; therefore, I leave it to you to diſpoſe of theſe Things as you think fit, or rather, according to the uſual Cuſtom. He nevertheleſs would waſh himſelf before he died, that he might not, ſaid he, give the Women the Trouble of waſhing his Body after he was dead. And *Crito* asking him in the Name of all his Friends who were preſent, if he had nothing to recommend to them touching his Children, or any Thing elſe, in which they might be of Service to him; he anſwered, nothing at all, only to have a Care of your ſelves, becauſe you cannot do any Thing that will be more pleaſing to me: As on the contrary, if you neglect yourſelves, and do not follow the Diſcourſes we have held together, though you ſhould promiſe me many Things now, you will do nothing for me. A little Time after, the Executioner preſented himſelf to him, with the Cup of Poiſon. He took it undauntedly into his Hands; and having ſwallowed the deadly Draught with a Countenance ſerene and unconcerned, he exhorted his Friends, who burſt all into Tears, not to afflict themſelves for his Death. Then he walked ſome Turns up and down the Room, Plato in Phædone.

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as the Executioner bid him, and the Strength of the Poiſon weakening his Legs, he threw himſelf on a little Bed, and covered his Face. After having lain a ſhort while in this Poſture, he uncovered himſelf to ſpeak to *Crito*, and theſe were his laſt Words. *We owe a Cock*, ſaid he, *to* Æſculapius, *take care to pay it him, and fail not:* And at the ſame Time he expired. This was the End of *Socrates*, in the firſt Year of the eighty-fourth Olympiad, and about the ſeventieth Year of his Life, to which he had attained without having felt the Inconveniences of old Age; which made him ſay, that he thought himſelf happy to quit this Life at a Time when it begins to be troubleſome to us, and that his Death was rather a Deliverance than a Puniſhment. *Diogenes* ſays, he was the firſt Philoſopher that ever died by the Sentence of Judges: For though *Anaxagoras* was condemned before him, yet he was pardoned at the Requeſt of *Pericles*. He obſerves however, that he was not the firſt great Man, whom the *Athenians* had treated unworthily, for *Heraclides* reports, they ſentenced the divine *Homer*, as a Madman, to pay a Fine of fifty Drachmas: And that they likewiſe made a publick Scoff of *Tyrtæus*, another excellent Poet.

Death of Socrates.

But *Plato*, and the other Diſciples of *Socrates*, finding that the Rage of his Calumniators was not intirely appeaſed by his being made a Victim to it, retired to *Euclides* at *Megara*, where they ſtaid 'till the Tempeſt was overblown.

Flight of the Diſciples of Socrates.

Mean while *Euripides*, to reproach the *Athenians* with this Murder, compoſed his *Palamedes*, in which, under the Name of that Hero, who likewiſe fell, oppreſſed by calumnious Falſhoods, he deplores the Misfortune of his

In argumento Buſtridis. Iſoc. & Diog.

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his Friend; and it happened, that when an Actor pronounced this Verse,

From the most Just of all the Greeks, *you snatch the Life away.*

all the Audience suspecting the Poet's Meaning, shed Tears in Remembrance of *Socrates*; insomuch, that it was forbid to speak more of him in Publick. Others, nevertheless, who reject this Particular, alledge, that *Euripides* was then dead. * A great Plague, that followed after, was always looked on as a Vengeance of Heaven for this unjust Condemnation; to which too *Dion Chrysostom* and *Eunapius* impute all the other Misfortunes which, after that Time, befel the Republick of *Athens*, and all the rest of *Greece*. Certain it is, that the *Athenians* bitterly repented of what they had done. The Innocence of *Socrates* appeared in so lively Colours, that they could not disown their Crime, and the Regret they had for it was followed by a publick Consternation; they shut up the Schools, put a stop to the Exercises, and gave themselves Leisure to bewail him. Their most cruel Indignation fell upon his Accusers, whom they called to Account for the Death of the Just. *Melitus* was condemned to Death, and the others were banished. *Anytus* having escaped to *Heraclea*, a Town on the Coast of the *Euxine* Sea, was driven from thence by the Inhabitants, the very Day they knew of his Arrival. *Themistius* says much more, that they stoned him to Death, and that his Tomb was shewn near the Seaside, in one of the Suburbs of that City. Diogenes. Orat. 1.

Plutarch

* μάλιστα δημόσια δίκη ἐν ποινῇ θεάτρου λέγειν περὶ Εὐριπίδου. In argumento Busiridis. Dion. Chrys. orat. 47. Eunap. in Ædes.

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In the Treatise of Envy and Hatred.

Plutarch says, that all who had a Hand in this Calumny, were held in such Abomination among the Citizens, that they would not so much as give them Fire, nor answer them when they asked any Question, nor wash with them in the Baths; insomuch, that the Servants who poured the Water, were commanded to throw away that in which they had bathed, as being defiled by their Touch; which threw them into such Despair, that they made away with their own selves.

Diogenes.

But the *Athenians* thought it not enough to have thus punished his Calumniators: They set up in his Honour a Statue of Brass, of the Work of *Lysippus*, and placed it in one of the Houses belonging to the Republick of *Athens*, called, *The House of the Pomps*, because it was particularly appointed for the Preparation of their Pomps and Ceremonies.

Statue of Socrates.

πομπεῖον.

At length the Love and Respect of this People for *Socrates* rise even to Veneration; and 'tis observed, that they dedicated a Chappel to him, as to a Hero or Demi-God, and called it in their Tongue *Socrateion*, that is to say, *The Chappel of* Socrates. *Marinus* mentions it in the Life of *Proclus*, and observes, that this Chappel stood on the Road that leads from the *Pyreum* to the City.

Chappel of Socrates.

Suidas tells us a Story, which I set down only for Curiosity: He says, That some time after his Death, one *Kyrsas*, a native of the Island of *Chio*, being come to *Athens* to see him, believing him still living, fell asleep near his Tomb, and that *Socrates* appeared and talked to him; after which *Kyrsas* returned immediately to his own Country.

They

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They who had seen *Socrates*, say, That Heaven had not been pleased to adorn his body like his Soul; nevertheless that he had a wonderful Talent in gaining the Minds of Men, and that when he discoursed, his every Action was persuasive, which shews at least that his Person was not displeasing. An Astrologer, that came from *Syria* to *Athens*, foretold him, That he should die a violent death. One *Zopyrus* judged by his Physiognomy, that he would be addicted to Vice, and he confessed that his Inclination was vicious, but that he had corrected it by the Study of Philosophy. Thus, above all things, he asked of the Gods to give him an interiour Beauty, and was wont to say, That young Men ought often to regard themselves in a Mirrour, to the end, that if they were handsome, they might endeavour to make the Beauties of their Souls correspond to the Beauties of their Bodies; and if they were ugly, they might take care to cover their Deformity by the Brightness of their Virtue.

Diogenes. In Phædone. Plutarc. conjug. precept. & Diog.

Now, tho' *Socrates* spent all his Days in the Study of Philosophy, as we have shewn before, yet nothing has been seen of his Writing. He said, he was ordered only to make others bring forth, but that for his own part, he was forbid to produce any thing himself. And being asked why he writ nothing, he answered, because he thought the Paper, more valuable than what he could write. Another time he answered to a like demand, That he would not put his Thoughts on the Skins of dead Beasts, but would rather engrave them in the

3 de Oratore. Stob. Ser. 21. Otho Enfingonsis lib. 2. cap. 19.

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the Hearts of living Men. And certainly in that Senſe, ſcarce any Philoſopher has written more than he, ſeeing not one of them ever imprinted on his Friends ſo ſolid a Doctrine. All of them have made it their Glory to relate his Opinions, all have introduced him in their Dialogues, having ſcarce writ any thing in them, but what they had heard him ſay.

τί οὖν Σωκράτης ἐκ γράφει ἢ τίς τοσαῦτα. Arrian. Epiſt. l. 2.

Moreover, ſome have endeavoured to maintain, That many of thoſe Perſons, whom we now call his Diſciples (tho' himſelf never gave them that Name, as he always refuſed that of Maſter) had no good Underſtanding among themſelves after his Death, and did not cultivate that reciprocal Friendſhip which he had all along recommended to them, and which he ſtudied to create in their Minds. We ſhall obſerve in reading the *Memorable Things*, in which he chiefly employed himſelf, and what in the Banquet of *Xenophon*, ſpeaking in a Term enough ſurprizing, he calls his Way of playing the Midwife, ſhewing afterwards the Excellence of that Art, of which he meant to ſpeak; and which conſiſts in rendering lovely all whom he concerned himſelf with, and to make them pleaſing, not only to one Perſon but to many, and even to intire Republicks. However, tho' it cannot be denyed but he ſucceeded in this Matter, nor that they who had been inſtructed by him, were very welcome to all that knew them, and courted by a World of Perſons, yet they ſeem not to have loved one another, but on the contrary, to have ſhamefully abandoned themſelves to Hate and Envy. We read in many Places

Common Opinion of the Miſunderſtandings among the Diſciples of Socrates.

Apud Plat in Apol.

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Places of the great Diſſenſions between *Plato* and *Xenophon*, and of the Conjectures that ſerve as Grounds for this Belief. 'Tis ſaid, they took Pleaſure to write the ſame Things in different Manners, meerly in Oppoſition to each other: That they never made mention one of the other, and that *Plato* naming all that were preſent at the Death of *Socrates*, ſaid not one ſingle Word of *Xenophon*. It is alledged beſides, That this laſt writ the Inſtruction of *Cyrus*, in which he gives the Idea of a great Monarch, only to thwart *Plato* in his Work of the Republick, of which he had ſeen the two firſt Books: and that *Plato* was ſo offended at it, that in the third Book of his Laws, he could not forbear to ſay, *That* Cyrus *had indeed all the Qualities of a good Prince, but that he had not in any wiſe been well educated:* In return of which, *Xenophon* ſo poſitively affirmed, That *Socrates* had never treated of the Things of Nature, only to give the Lie to *Plato*, who in ſeveral Places of his Dialogues introduces *Socrates* diſcourſing of Phyſicks, of Muſick, and of Geometry. As to the others, it is ſaid likewiſe that *Antiſthenes* never could agree with *Plato*, whom he reproaches ſeveral times of Vanity, and even writ a Dialogue againſt him, whoſe Title alone was a very ſharp Invective. 'Tis farther ſaid, there was an ill Underſtanding between *Xenophon* and *Ariſtippus*; and that to affront him, he has put in the ſecond Book of the *Memorable Things* that Dialogue between him and *Socrates*, touching Voluptuouſneſs. 'Tis further ſaid, that *Plato* bore a grudge to *Æſchines* and *Phædon*, the firſt of whom going to him into *Sicily*, he would never preſent him to *Dionyſius* the Tyrant; That he ſeduced likewiſe *Xenocrates* away from him, who was the only Diſciple he then had: And that out of Malice he aſcribed to *Crito* the Glory of having

A. Gel. lib. 14. cap. 3. Athenæus l. 11. & Diog in Platone.

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ing propoſed to *Socrates* a Means for his Eſcape, tho' it was *Æſchines* who brought him Word of it, and who had contrived the Way to put it in Execution: And, That as to *Phædon*, he had a Mind to commence a Suit in Law againſt him, to diſpute with him his liberty which *Socrates* had procured for him, but that he went not on with it, becauſe his Deſign was diſcovered. Laſtly, *Athenæus* ſays, he bore the Hatred of a Step-Mother to all the Diſciples of *Socrates*, and obſerves, That *Apollodorus* hated him ſo perfectly, that *Plato* drinking a Health to him at a Feaſt, he ſaid aloud, that he would rather have taken a Cup full of Poiſon from the Hand of *Socrates*, than a Glaſs of Wine from his.

To all this we may anſwer in one Word, that were all theſe Things true, *Socrates* would not be to blame, as the Legiſlator is not in the Fault, when his Laws are not obſerved. But ſo far are we from allowing them to be true, that on the contrary, very violent Conjectures may be oppoſed to theſe Opinions. For is it credible, that ſuch excellent Men could entertain Thoughts ſo unworthy of generous Souls? Is it credible, that Men who could acquire the Affection of Kings and their People, and who had ſo many Spectators, could not procure the Love of their Equals? Was it Envy that blinded them? And was their Philoſophy only Grimace and meer Words? No doubt ſome Touches of Philoſophical Freedom, or ſome Raillery of Friends, have been taken for Tokens of Hatred and Envy: And it may well be true, that the Authors have been miſtaken in the Senſe they have given to the Words and Actions of theſe great Men, as was *Athenæus*, who, as a Proof of the Animoſity between *Plato* and *Xenophon*, alledges that *Plato*, when he names thoſe that were preſent at the Death of *Socrates*, ſpeaks not of *Xenophon*; as if *Xenophon* had been there, and he would not name him. But how could he be there, who

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who was then above five hundred Leagues from *Athens*, in the midſt of the Territories of the King of *Perſia*, making that glorious Retreat, of which he has left us an immortal Deſcription? He is miſtaken likewiſe, when he ſays, that *Plato* refuſed to recommend *Æſchines* to the King of *Sicily*, and to procure him ſome Aſſiſtance from him, ſeeing *Plutarch* aſſures us to the contrary, that he very generouſly uſed his Intereſt for him; and after having related what paſſed between him and this Prince upon that Account, he adds, That *Dionyſius* was ſo moved at it, that he embraced *Plato* that very Moment, admiring his Civility and Magnanimity, and that afterwards he gave ſeveral honourable and magnificent Marks of his good Will to *Æſchines*. And from hence we may diſtruſt the other Appearances that are alledged to prove the Diſſenſions of theſe Philoſophers. For in ſhort, to impute to *Plato* this hate of a Step-Mother, of which *Athenæus* ſpeaks, we muſt deny all that the Antients have ſaid of him, who repreſent him of a moſt mild and affable Temper. Therefore, this Anſwer of *Apollodorus* was a bold Word, and betrays rather a great Paſſion for *Socrates*, than a great Hatred for *Plato*; and it agrees very well with the Opinion *Xenophon* had of him, when he ſaid, That he had a violent Paſſion for *Socrates*, but not very much Wit.

In the Treatiſe how to diſtinguiſh the Flatterer from the Friend.

In Apol.

To conclude: The Quarrel between *Plato* and *Xenophon* being that which has made moſt Noiſe, it will ſuffice to anſwer for it in the Words of *Aulus Gellius*, who is one of the firſt has taken Notice of it. *If there be Reaſon to believe, or only to ſuſpect this of theſe great Men, it was neither Backbiting, nor Envy, nor the Deſire of acquiring Glory by this Conteſtation, that could have been the Cauſe*

Aul. Gell. lib. 14. cap. 3.

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of it. Such Thoughts are far from the Manners of Philoſophy, in which theſe two excelled in the Opinion of all Men: Upon what then is this Belief grounded? No doubt the Reaſon is, becauſe an Equality of the ſame Virtues begets an Appearance of Jealouſy, tho' there be none: For when two or more Men of great Parts apply themſelves to the ſame Thing, with an equal or approaching Reputation, there generally ariſes a Conteſtation among their Followers, which afterwards, like a Contagion, ſpreads itſelf even to them: And when the Efforts they both make to arrive at the ſame End are alike, or little different, we are apt to ſuſpect a Jealouſy, not ſo much by their Actions, as through the Zeal of ſuch as concern themſelves in their Glory. Thus it was believed there was a Jealouſy between Plato *and* Xenophon, *who were the two Lights of the* Socratick *Mildneſs; becauſe many have often diſputed which of the two was the moſt Excellent; and for the ſame Reaſon that two Neighbour Mountains of an equal Height ſeem to aſpire in Envy of each other, and imprint in the Minds of Beholders ſome Idea of Jealouſy.*

The Memory of *Socrates* has been held in Veneration by all ſucceeding Ages, not only by Heathens, but by Chriſtians too, among whom his Merit has found ſome Admirers. *Juſtin Martyr* himſelf ſcruples not to place him in the Number of Chriſtians, and affirms, That the evil Dæmons were the Authors of his Death, becauſe he endeavoured to diſſuade Men from their abominable Worſhip. This *Lactantius* could not avoid to allow, though he has not always been very favourable to him, and ſays he was thrown into Priſon, only for endeavouring to overthrow the Religion of the Falſe Gods. There is ſome Reaſon, nevertheleſs, to believe, That he was not quite clear of the Errors of Idolatry, ſince at the very Moment of his Death he ordered *Crito* to Sacrifice for him to *Æſculapius*.

Ap. pro Chriſt. 2. De juſtitia, lib. 5. cap. 15.

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Æsculapius, and because during his whole Life, he had frequented the Temples, assisted at the Sacrifices, and that he even boasted of it before his Judges, to clear himself of the Crime that was laid to his Charge. But on the other Hand, as it cannot be denied, but that he has often spoken of the Existence of one only God, Eternal, Invisible, Creator of the Universe; nor that he made a Jest at all the Fables of the Poets, which served as a Foundation to the ridiculous Mysteries of his Age; so we may likewise reasonably believe, that if he did appear sometimes in the Temple, he did it only to render himself less hateful in that superstitious Republick, where they would never have suffered him, if he had openly despised the received Religion: Insomuch, that his alledging this in his Defence before his Judges, was only to shew the Malice of his Adversaries, who could not justly accuse him, because he had lived in outward shew like others. Thus it is that *Theodoretus* answers in his Behalf to this Objection, after having made Use of him as an Evidence to refute the Idolatry of the *Greeks* in his Days. *You see*, says he, *That* Socrates *acknowledged but one God: But if sometimes he spoke of the Gods, according to the Opinion of the Age he lived in, he was constrained to do so, on Account of the People of* Athens, *who were prepossessed with this erroneous Belief. For if even in doing this, he could not avoid the poisonous Draught, what would have happened to him, if he had openly denied the Plurality of Gods?* We ought not then to be surprized at his having sometimes explained his Thoughts after the Manner of Paganism; as when he gave Orders to *Crito* to sacrifice for him a Cock to the God of Recovery, by which he meant to have it understood, that he returned

De curatione Græcorum Aff. lib. 2.

Why Socrates commanded Crito to offer a Cock to Æsculapius.

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turned Thanks to GOD upon leaving this Life, as upon recovering from a Diſeaſe. It is no ſmall Matter, that in the Bottom of his Soul he adored but one Sovereign Being, and that in his Diſcourſes with his Friends, he laboured to infuſe the ſame Belief into their Minds. Thus he ſaid before his Judges, That it was a great Piece of Impudence in his Enemies to affirm, That he believed there were no Gods, ſince he believed with all other Men, that the Sun and Moon were Gods: But in the fourth Book of the *Memorable Things*, when he is converſeing in private with his Friend *Euthydemus*, he is ſo far from attributing any Divinity to theſe two Luminaries, that he places them in the Rank of other Creatures, and conſiders them only as the Works and Inſtruments of the Power and Goodneſs of the Supreme God, who created the Univerſe. This is what made him ſay, as *Juſtin* relates it, *That it is not eaſy to arrive at the Knowledge of the Father and Author of all Things, and That when a Man has attained to it, it is not ſafe to ſpeak of it before all the World.* And, indeed, when I reflect that *Ariſtophanes* treats him upon the Stage, as an impious Perſon, accuſing him of worſhipping the Clouds, and of having dethroned *Jupiter* to put them in his Place, and to give them the Government of Thunder; I doubt not in the leaſt, but this Invention of the Poet was grounded on ſome Diſcourſe of *Socrates*, who ſeeing that the *Athenians*, who were always the moſt ſuperſtitious People of the Earth, were in a Conſternation at the leaſt Noiſe or Change that happened in the Air, even to that Degree as to break off their publick Aſſemblies, when there fell any Drops of Rain, or when any Thing of the like Nature happened, becauſe they believed it to be a Token of the Wrath of

Apol. 1. p. 0. Chriſtianis.

In the Comedy of the Clouds.

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of *Jupiter*, used to laugh at their being thus dismayed, and at this fabulous *Jupiter, the Giver of Rains and the Darter of Thunders*, and had shewn them that Thunder and Rain were only a natural Effect of the Clouds, and not a Prodigy to be frighted at.

Upon this Account it was, that he has deserved the Praises which have been given him by the most zealous Defenders of Christianity, and that he has been taken by St. *Justin* and *Lactantius* for an Enemy of Idolatry. It cannot nevertheless be denied, but there are some Fathers of the Church, who speak very much to his Disadvantage, and who give us a very ill Idea even of his Morals. *Tertullian*, St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzen* are of this Number. *Theodoret* likewise and *Lactantius*, who have praised him in some Passages, have inveighed warmly against him in others. But seeing they have all grounded their Objections against him only upon the old Calumnies of *Melitus* and *Aristoxenus*, and that they have nothing to lay to his Charge, but those pretended Crimes, of which he is sufficiently justified by the most celebrated Authors both antient and modern; we may say, without violating the Respect that is due to these great Men, that their Evidence in this Matter cannot prejudice *Socrates*, that they have not been able to raise up any Thing solid against him on so ruinous a Foundation, nor to wound him with counterfeit Arms, and that so long as they find not some other Means to attack him, he cannot be turned out from the quiet Enjoyment of that good Reputation, which *Tertullian* owns was restored to him after he was dead, by the Revocation of his Sentence, and by the Grief of the *Athenians* for his Death. Nevertheless, it is certain that the Zeal of these holy Men deserves a profound Respect, since their only Design was the Conversion of Infidels, whom they were desirous to convince of this

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Truth, that in the Pagan Philoſophy there is nothing comparable to the Virtues of Chriſtianity, and that it was in the School of JESUS CHRIST only, that they were to learn to be truly wiſe and truly virtuous. But ſince at this Day this Diſpute is at an End, and there is none who pretend to make a Parallel between the Pagan Philoſophers and the Apoſtles; nay, ſince it is not neceſſary to prove that *Socrates* was addicted to Vice, to perſuade the World that he was much inferior to them; we may leave his Virtue and Renown intire, without diminiſhing the Glory of the Saints, or troubling the Triumphs of Chriſtianity On the contrary, methinks the Example of this Philoſopher ought to be to us an Incentive to good Manners: For who is not moved with Emulation, to conſider in a Pagan, that is to ſay, in a Man, whom we may affirm to have been feeble and ignorant in regard to ourſelves, that profound Reſpect towards God, that firm Belief of his Providence, that great Love for Juſtice, that inviolable Candour and Integrity, that ardent Deſire for the Good of others, that ſincere and cordial Friendſhip, that true Contempt of Riches, and that unſhaken Conſtancy in Misfortunes, that were always eminently ſeen in *Socrates?* For this Reaſon, I was willing to refreſh the Remembrance of him in this Work, being of Opinion, that if it affords any Pleaſure in the Peruſal, the Reader may likewiſe reap ſome Advantage from it.

The End of the Life of SOCRATES.

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A

Chronological TABLE

FOR THE

Life of SOCRATES.

Years before Christ	*Olympiads.*	*Archons or Governors of Athens.*	*Age of Soc.*	
469	77	*Phædon.*		*Socrates* was born on the 6th of *Thargelion*, which Month included Part of *May* and of *June*, and was the eleventh of the *Athenian* Year: So that within two Months, more or less, *Socrates* was not a Year old, 'till in the first Year of the 78th Olympiad, which Account we follow. For the Olympick Year, as well as the *Athenian*, began about the Summer Solstice, and not in Winter, as ours.
	4			
468	78	*Theagenides.*	1	
	1			
467	2	*Lysistratus.*	2	
466	3	*Lysanias.*	3	
465	4	*Lysitheus.*	4	
464	79	*Archidemides*	5	
	1			
463	2	*Tlepolemus.*	6	
462	3	*Conon.*	7	*Themistocles* dies.
461	4	*Evippus.*	8	
460	80	*Phrasiclides.*	9	
	1			
459	2	*Philoclides.*	10	
458	3	*Bion.*	11	
457	4	*Mnesitides.*	12	
456	81	*Callias.*	13	
	1			The Poet *Æschylus* dies.

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Years before Christ	*Olympiads.*	*Archons or Governors of Athens.*	*Age of Soc.*	
455	2	*Sosistratus.*	14	
454	3	*Ariston.*	15	
453	4	*Lysicrates.*	16	
452	82 1	*Chærephanes.*	17	
451	2	*Antydotus.*	18	
450	3	*Euthydemus.*	19	The *Athenians* make War in *Cyprus*, under the Conduct of *Cimon*. *Diod.*
449	4	*Pedieus.*	20	*Cimon* dies.
448	83 1	*Phileseus.*	21	
447	2	*Timarchides.*	22	*Tolmides* was defeated in *Bœotia*. *Diod.* Mention is made of it in the 3d Book of the *Memorable Things*. The Isle of *Eubœa* revolts against the *Athenians*. *Thucyd.* And the City of *Megara* likewise, whose Inhabitants kill the *Athenian* Garison there.
446	3	*Callimachus.*	23	The *Athenians*, under the Command of *Pericles*, subdue *Eubœa*. A Truce concluded for thirty Years, between the *Athenians* and the *Lacedemonians*.
445	4	*Lysimachides.*	24	
444	84 1	*Praxiteles.*	25	
443	2	*Lysanias.*	26	*Diodorus* observes, That this Year there was Peace over all the Earth.
442	3	*Diphilus.*	27	The *Athenians*, under the Command of *Pericles*, make War against the *Samians*.
441	4	*Timocles.*	28	
440	85 1	*Myrichides.*	29	Comedies forbid to be played any more at *Athens*.

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Years before Christ	*Olympiads.*	*Archons or Governors of Athens*	*Age of Soc.*	
439	2	*Glaucides.*	30	War between the *Corinthians* and the Inhabitants of *Corcyra* for *Epidamnus*, which War was the Source of that of *Peloponnesus*. *Thucyd. l.* 1.
438	3	*Theodorus.*	31	The *Corinthians* defeated in a Sea-fight, by those of *Corcyra*, who afterwards take *Epidamnus*.
437	4	*Euthymenes.*	32	The *Athenians* revoke their Edict, that forbid the Acting of Comedies.
436	86 1	*Nausimachus*	33	Birth of *Isocrates*. Now flourished *Empedocles*, *Hippocrates*, *Gorgias* and *Prodicus*. The *Corinthians*, make great Preparations against the Inhabitants of *Corcyra*, who are assisted by the *Athenians*.
435	2	*Antilochides.*	34	The *Corinthians*, to revenge themselves of the *Athenians*, who had assisted their Enemies, solicit the Subjects and the Allies of the *Athenians* to revolt against them.
434	3	*Chares.*	35	
433	4	*Apseudes.*	36	Revolt of *Potidæa*. *Diodorus* places this two Years before, under the Government of *Antilochides*: But according to *Thucydides*, it cannot have been so soon; for he says, that on the 40th Day after the Revolt, *Aristeus* entered into the Place with 600 *Peloponnesians*; which being known at *Athens*, they forthwith sent *Callias* thither, who made

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Years before Christ.	Olympiads.	Archons, or Governors of Athens.	Age of Socrates.	Y. of Peloponnesian War.	
					all the haste he could ὡς αὐτοὺς καλύψειεν ἡ Ἀθηναία, καὶ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς παρελθών, and he was kill'd there in the first Action that happen'd: But the Action in which *Callias* was kill'd, was but six Months before the taking of *Platæa* by the *Thebans*; which happen'd as *Thucydides* expressly says, at the end of the Archonship of *Pythodorus*.
432	87 1	*Pythodorus.*	37		Siege of *Potidæa*, at which *Socrates* was. The *Thebans* surprize *Platea*, a Town allied with the *Athenians*, but were all slain in the Attempt, and this was the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War. War declar'd between the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*.
431	2	*Euthydemus,*	38	1	The *Lacedemonians* make an Irruption into *Attica*; and on the other side the *Athenian* Fleet infests the Coasts of *Peloponnesus*.
430	3	*Apollodorus.*	39	2	Great Plague at *Athens*. The *Lacedemonians* once more invade *Attica*.

Potidæa

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Years before Christ	Olympiads.	Archons, or Governors of Athens.	Age of Socrates.	Y. of Peloponnesian War.	
					Potidæa surrenders for want of Provisions. *Eupolis* his Comedies played at *Athens.*
429	4	*Epaminon* or *Amynias.*	40	3	Death of *Pericles.* *Platæa* besieged by *Archidamus* King of *Sparta.* Birth of *Plato:* but *Athenæus* says it happened the Year before, under the Archonship of *Apollodorus*
428	88 1	*Diotimus.*	41	4	The Isle of *Lesbos* revolts from the *Athenians.* The Garison of *Platea* gets out of the Town and escapes from the Besiegers. *Anaxagoras* dies.
427	2	*Euclides.*	42	5	The *Athenians* reduce *Lesbos.* *Platea* taken, and the *Lacedemonians* put all they found in it to the sword
426	3	*Ethydemus*, or *Scythodorus.*	43	6	*Phidias* dies.
425	4	*Stratocles.*	44	7	The *Athenians* take the fort of *Pylus* on the Coasts of *Peloponnesus*, and put a strong Garison into the Place.
424	89 1	*Isarchus.*	45	8	Great overthrow of the *Athenians* by the *Bœotians*, at *Delium.* *Brasidas*, a *Lacedemonian* General, gains great Advantages over the *Athenians* in *Thracia.*

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Years before Christ.	Olympiads.	Archons, or Governors of Athens.	Age of Socrates.	Y. of Peloponnesian War.	
					ce. This very Year, the Comedy call'd *The Clouds*, which *Aristophanes* had written against *Socrates*, was played the first Time.
423	2	*Aminias.*	46	9	Truce between the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* for one Year. This Year *The Clouds* of *Aristophanes* were revived, with Alterations. Nevertheless, in the *Parabasis* he speaks of the Death of *Cleon*, which happen'd not till the Year following: This gives Reason to believe, as a Scholiast has well observed, that the Poet mended it sev'ral times and that he added this after it was acted.
422	3	*Alcæus.*	47	10	*Cleon* goes into *Thrace* with an Army, to oppose *Brasidas*, but the *Athenians* are again defeated, and *Cleon* was killed, and *Brasidas* likewise. *Socrates* was in this Expedition. The *Lacedemonians* and the *Athenians* make a Peace for 50 Years, but it did not last.

Agatho

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Years before Christ	*Olympiads.*	*Archons, or Governors of Athens.*	*Age of Socrates.*	*Y. of Peloponnesian War.*	
421	4	*Aristion.*	48	11	
420	90 1	*Aristophylus.*	49	12	
419	2	*Archias.*	50	13	
418	3	*Antiphon.*	51	14	
417	4	*Euphemus.*	52	15	*Agatho* carries the Prize of Tragedy. *Athenæus*, p. 207. This is he of whom mention is made in the Banquet of *Plato*.
416	91 1	*Aristomnestus.*	53	16	
415	2	*Chabrias.*	54	17	The *Athenians* send a great Fleet to conquer *Sicily*, under the command of *Nicias*, *Lamachus*, and *Alcibiades*. *Alcibiades* call'd back to *Athens*, where he was to have been tried for his Life, but escapes to *Lacedemon*.
414	3	*Pisander.*	55	18	
413	4	*Cleocritus.*	56	19	Year fatal to the *Athenians*. The *Lacedæmonians* take *Decelea* in *Attica*, which they fortify and put a Garison in it: From whence they were very troublesome to the *Athenians*; who are intirely defeated in *Sicily*, where *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* are killed.
412	92 1	*Callias.*	57	20	New Troubles at *Athens* concerning the Govern-

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Years before Christ	*Olympiads.*	*Archons, or Governors of Athens.*	*Age of Socrates.*	*Y. of Peloponnesian War.*	
					Government.
411	2	*Theopompus.*	58	21	The *Eubœans* abandon the side of the *Athenians.*
410	3	*Glaucippus.*	59	22	
409	4	*Diocles.*	60	23	
408	91 1	*Euctemon.*	61	24	
407	2	*Antigenes.*	62	25	*Alcibiades* returns to *Athens*, where he is received with incredible Joy. *Xenoph. & Plutarch.*
406	3	*Callias.*	63	26	*Alcibiades* commands the *Athenian* Fleet, which being defeated by the Fault of his Lieutenant, he retreats towards the *Helleſpont.* And the *Athenians* chuſe ten other Captains, whom they ſend to command their fleet Battle of *Arginuſæ. Socrates* a Magiſtrate. The *Athenians* put their Generals to Death. Some place in this Year the Death of *Sophocles* and *Euripides:* but others make *Euripides* ſurvive *Socrates*, as we have ſaid in the Life of *Socrates.*
405	4	*Alexias.*	64	27	Entire Defeat of the *Athenian* Fleet on the Coaſt of the *Helleſpont. Lyſander* lays Siege to *Athens*,

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Years before Christ.	*Olympiads.*	*Archons, or Governors of Athens.*	*Age of Socrates.*	*Y. of Peloponnesian War.*	
					Athens, which he takes upon Articles. And thus ended the War.
404	94 1	*Pythodorus.*	65		*Lysander* establishes the 30 Tyrants at *Athens*. *Alcibiades* dies.
403	2	*Euclides.*	66		The 30 Tyrants
402	3	*Micron.*	67		are expelled. *Critias*
401	4	*Exenætus.*	68		killed fighting. Expedition of the younger *Cyrus* againſt *Artaxerxes*. *Xenophon* goes into the Service of the younger *Cyrus*, which ſhews he could not be at *Athens* when *Socrates* was put to Death.
400	95	*Laches.*	69		About the laſt Months of this firſt
399	1		70		Year of the 95th Olympiad *Socrates* entered into his 70th Year.
					Death of SOCRATES.

All the Chronologers mark the Death of *Socrates* in the ſame Year that we do. *Euſebius* only makes it fall two Years lower, that is to ſay, in the third Year of the ſame Olympiad, in which he is no leſs miſtaken, than in placing the Birth of this Philoſopher in the third Year of the ſeventy eighth

Chronological Diſſertation concerning the Age of Socrates and the Time of his Death.

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eighth Olympiad; that is to say, three Years later than the others place it, which is contrary to the Authority of all the Antients, and particularly of *Apollodorus*, and *Demetrius Phalareus*, the last of whom lived almost in the Age of *Socrates*, and who both of them are cited by *Diogenes*. Thus, as the same *Diogenes* says, they who have written that *Socrates* died in his sixtieth Year, were guilty of a great Mistake, because there is a greater Interval of Time between the Year in which he was born, and that in which he died. They likewise, who say that *Socrates* was above seventy Years old, are guilty of no less an Error; this Opinion seems to be grounded on the Passage of *Apollodorus* alledged by *Diogenes*, and upon another of the Author of the Chronology of the Olympiads, in both which, it is said, That *Socrates* was born the Year that *Aphepsion* governed the City of *Athens*: For according to that Account, his Birth must have been twelve Years sooner than we have placed it; because in the Catalogue of the Annual Governors of the City of *Athens*, we find that *Aphepsion* governed it the fourth Year of the seventy fourth Olympiad, which is twelve Years before that in which we say that *Socrates* was born, from which it would follow, That he must have been 82 Years old when he died. But it manifestly appears that the Passage of *Apollodorus* is corrupted; for after having said that the Birth of *Socrates* happened under the Government of *Aphepsion*, he adds immediately, That it was the fourth Year of the seventy seventh Olympiad, which is indeed the very Year of the Birth of *Socrates*, but not that when *Aphepsion* governed the City of *Athens*, as all agree; which proves there is some Confusion in that Passage. And as to the Author of the Chronology of the Olympiads, who sets down the Birth of *Socrates* under the Government of *Aphepsion*, he reports that Opinion only in condemning it, and places afterwards

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wards that very Birth under the Government of *Phædon*, in the fourth Year of the ſeventy ſeventh Olympiad, which was the true Time of *Socrates*'s Birth. Nor indeed is there any Poſſibility of forming a Doubt upon this Matter, after the expreſs Teſtimony of *Plato*, who had ſo long frequented *Socrates*, who ſaw him die, and makes him ſay, That he was ſeventy Years old and upwards. Moreover, though the Antients have taken Notice of the particular Circumſtances of this Death, it is difficult, nevertheleſs, to determine in what Seaſon of the Year it happened. *Xenophon* and *Plato* indeed tell us, that *Socrates* was condemned during certain Feaſts of the *Athenians*, which they call the Feaſts of *Delos*, but they mark not the Time when they were celebrated. *Caſtellanus* and *Meurſius* who have written Treatiſes of the *Grecian* Feſtivals, ſpeak not of the Seaſon when theſe happened; nay, they even confound them with others of the ſame Name. Some other Authors, who have written of the Kalendar of the *Greeks*; as *Nicholas Vignier*, and *Samuel Petit* in his *Attic* Laws, take no Notice of them. However, we may give ſome Gueſs at the Time when theſe Feaſts were obſerved, as well as by the Cauſe of their Inſtitution, as by the very Circumſtance of *Socrates*'s Death. *Plato* teaches us, That the Republick ſent every Year to the Iſle of *Delos*, in Performance of a Vow that *Theſeus* made, when he was upon his Departure with the fourteen young Perſons that were to be carried as a Tribute into *Crete*: For they had all promiſed, if they eſcaped that Danger, to which they were going to be expoſed, and returned in Safety from the Voyage, they would ſend every Year to the Iſle of *Delos*, to ſacrifice in Honour of *Apollo*. *Plutarch* tells us, That *Theſeus* made this Vow at *Athens*, in a Temple that was dedi-

At what time of the Year Socrates died.

In the Life of Theſeus.

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dedicated to *Apollo*, and that he offered there a Branch of an Olive-Tree, wreathed about with white Wool, which was the Mark of a Supplicant: And he adds, That having made his Vow, he went down immediately to the Sea-side to embark, which happened on the sixth of *Munichion*; that is to say, towards the End of *April*, and not on the sixth of *March*, as *Amyot* has translated it.

The Delian Feasts happened in the Spring.

Now if these *Delian* Feasts, which retarded the Death of *Socrates*, were only, as *Plato* says, in Performance of the Vow of *Theseus* and his Companions, they all in Appearance happened in the Spring, of which the Month of *Munichion*, which contained Part of our *April* and *May*, was a Part, because it was about that Time of the Year that the Vow was made; and as *Plutarch* farther tells us, it was in that Season that the Servants of *Minos* came every Year to *Athens* to fetch the Youths, which the *Athenians* were obliged to send as a Tribute into *Crete*, and among whom *Theseus* would go to undertake to fight the *Minotaur*. For it is highly probable, that when these young *Athenians* vowed a Voyage of Devotion to the Temple of *Apollo* in the Island *Delos*, they intended that Voyage to be made at the same Time that the other was made into *Crete*, that they might turn into a Time of Rejoicing that very Season of the Year, which had before been a Time of Mourning, on Account of the raising of that infamous Tribute. What strengthens this Conjecture very much, is, as we have said already, the Circumstance of the Age of *Socrates*, who, *Plato* says, told his Judges, That he was seventy Years old and upwards. For it must be granted, That if he had not been at least some Days above Seventy, he would not have made him say Seventy and upwards: Insomuch, that

ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πλείω.

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when he ſpoke in that Manner, he had paſſed the ſixth of the Month *Thargelion* of that Year, becauſe he was born upon that Day, and therefore upon the ſame Day begun his ſeventieth Year. Now the Month of *Thargelion*, which included Part of *May* and of *June*, was the eleventh Month of the *Athenian* Year: So that he cannot have lived longer than four and fifty Days after the ſixth of the Month *Thargelion*, becauſe then he would have entered into the ſecond Year of the ſame Olympiad: And this would be contrary to all the antient Chronology, which places his Death in the firſt. It is therefore certain, that he muſt have lived longer than the ſixth of *Thargelion*, to ſay he was ſeventy Years old and upwards, and likewiſe that he did not live above four and fifty Days longer, at the End of which, the Year finiſhed. Now the Day before his Condemnation, and even when he ſaid, That he was ſeventy Years old and upwards, this Solemnity of the Voyage to *Delos* was begun, the Prieſt of *Apollo* having crowned the Head of the Veſſel that was to ſail for that Ceremony. The Veſſel continued thirty Days in the Voyage, as *Plato* and *Xenophon* both agree; and when it came back, *Socrates* was put to Death: All which muſt have happened within the four and fifty laſt Days of the Year; from which, if we take away thirty for the Time that the Veſſel continued in the Voyage, it follows, that *Socrates* muſt have been put to Death on one of the four and twenty laſt Days of the Year; and therefore in the laſt Month of the Year, which was called *Scirriphorion*, and included ſome of *June* and *July*; and conſequently that the Feaſts of *Delos* began generally towards the Month of *Thargelion*, which followed that of *Munichion*, in

Socrates put to Death in the Month of Scirrophorion.

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That there was no fixt Day for the Delian Feasts.

in which, as *Plutarch* says, *Theseus* made the Vow. There is great Appearance, however, that there was no Day fixed to begin this Voyage of Devotion; and seeing it was to be performed by Sea, it is likely enough, that they took the Opportunity of the Weather, and that it depended on the Priest of *Apollo* to give the Signal for Sailing, by crowning the Head of the consecrated Vessel. *Plato* seems to give us to understand it in this Manner, when he says, That what delayed the Death of *Socrates* was a meer Accident, because, says he, the very Day before his Condemnation, the Priest of *Apollo* had crowned the Head of this Vessel: For by saying it was an Accident, he shews that this Ceremony had no appointed Day, because otherwise it would not have been an Accident, that Sentence being passed upon *Socrates* the Day before that Day, his Execution must have been deferred, by Reason of these Feasts, if they had happened always at the same time. Nevertheless, *Xenophon* observes, That these Feasts were fixed to a certain Month; for speaking of the delaying of the Death of *Socrates*, he alledges for Reason of it, That the *Delian* Feasts were observed in that Month, which he would not have said, if they had not belonged to a certain Month. In which Case there is no Month, in which for the Reasons already alledged, we can better fix them, than in the Month of *Thargelion*; because it is certain at least, that in the Year when *Socrates* died, this Ceremony of crowning the Vessel could not be performed but in that Month, nor even till after the sixth of that Month, because the Day after that Ceremony *Socrates* was condemned, and because true,

That they were fixt to a certain Month.

That the Year Socrates died they began in the Month of Thargelion.

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he was then ſeventy Years old and upwards, as we have proved already, which could not have been true, if he had not then ſurvived the ſixth of *Thargelion*. And yet it cannot be denied, that the firſt time that *Theſeus*, in Performance of his Vow, celebrated Sacrifices in the Iſle of *Delos*, it was neither in the Month of *Munichion*, nor of *Thargelion*, which were two of the Months of the vernal Seaſon; but in *Autumn*, towards the Month of *Pyanepſion*, which included Part of *October* and of *November*. For *Plutarch* teaches us, That *Theſeus* in his Return from *Crete*, touched at *Delos*, where he made ſome Sacrifices according to his Vow, and inſtituted with his Companions certain Dances, the Steps of which imitated the Windings of the Labyrinth, to ſignify that Rejoicing to be made in Memory of their Deliverance. He adds, moreover, That having performed all theſe Ceremonies, he went ſtrait to *Athens*, where he arrived the Seventh of *Pyanepſion*; and ſeeing no great Time is required to go from *Delos* to *Athens*, it is evident, that if *Theſeus* arrived not there 'till on the ſeventh of *Pyanepſion*, he muſt have been at *Delos* the Beginning of that Month, or the End of the Month before; and therefore, that the firſt Thankſgiving which *Theſeus* paid to *Apollo*, even before his Return to *Athens*, was in Autumn, and not in the Spring about the Months of *Munichion* or *Thargelion*, which was the very Seaſon, when the Vow of *Theſeus* and of his Companions was yearly accompliſhed. But be that how it will, *Caſtellanus* and *Meurſius* do very ill to confound theſe Feaſts that retarded the Execution of *Socrates*, with others of the like Name, of which *Thucydides* ſpeaks in the third Book of his Hiſtory, when he ſays, That in the Winter of the ſixth Year of the

The firſt Sacrifices that Theſeus offer'd in Delos, were in Autumn.

Caſtellanus and Meurſius blamed.

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War, the *Athenians* were admoniſhed by ſome Oracles to purify the Iſle of *Delos*, that was defiled by the Burial of ſome Dead who had been interred there: So that they cauſed all the dead Bodies to be taken up, and forbid any others to be buried there for the future; after which, ſays he, they inſtituted Games that were to be celebrated for the Time to come every fifth Year. For this agrees not in the leaſt with the Feaſts that retarded the Death of *Socrates*, and happened every Year, as *Plato* ſays in expreſs Words: And from that Time, ſays he, ſpeaking of the Time of *Theſeus*, the Republick has always ſent every Year to the Iſle of *Delos*: And as a concluſive Proof that theſe Feaſts were different, it is evident, that to reckon from five Years to five Years, from that ſixth Year of the War, when the Feaſts of which *Thucydides* ſpeaks were inſtituted, they could not happen in the Year of the Death of *Socrates*. This is what I think moſt likely to be true, as well concerning the Duration of his Life, as touching the Time of his Death. Upon which, I have been ſo particular, rather to ſee if we could find out the Time of ſo memorable a Solemnity among the *Athenians*, and of which the Moderns who have written of theſe Affairs have been wholly ſilent, than becauſe I judged it of any great Importance to our Hiſtory, to examine this Point ſo ſcrupulouſly as I have done.

In Phædone.

The END.

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NAMES of the AUTHORS cited in the LIFE of *SOCRATES*.

ÆLian
Æschines the Philosopher
Æschines the Orator
A. Gellius
Apollodorus
Aristides the Sophist
Aristophanes
Aristotle
Aristoxenus
Arrianus
Athenæus
Cardanus
Casaubon
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Eusebius
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Heraclitus
Heraclides
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Hesychius Illustrius
Julius Pollux
Justin Martyr
Lactantius
Libanius
Marinus
Maximus Tyrius
Menander
Meursius
Otho Frisingensis
St. Paul to the Romans
Pausanias
Phavorinus in A. Gellium
Plato
Plutarch
Porphyrius in Theodoret
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Joseph Scaliger
Seneca
Sigonius
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Strabo
Stobæus
Suidas
Tertullian
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Theodoret
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THE

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OF

XENOPHON.

XENOPHON was born at *Athens*. The Time of his Birth is no where expreſsly delivered; but *Sterſiclides* af- Laertius. firms he died in the firſt Year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad; and *Lucian* ſays, That he lived to be De Longæv. above ninety Years of Age; allowing which to be true, it is evident, that he muſt have been born in or before the third Year of the eighty ſecond Olympiad, when *Euthydemus* was Archon of *Athens*, 446 Years before JESUS CHRIST.

Had *Caſaubon* taken Notice of this, he would not have pretended Animadv. 5. 12. to alter *Athenæus*, on a bare Suppoſition that *Xenophon* was but ten Years Old the fourth Year of the eighty ninth Olympiad, which was the Time when he writ his Συμπόσιον, whereas it is demonſtrable that he could have been no leſs than twenty-nine Years of Age. *Stanley*, who computes in like Manner the Time of his Birth, Lives of the Philoſophers.

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from what is ſaid in *Laertius* of his Death, and in *Lucian* of his Age, places it two Years ſooner than I have done, that is to ſay, in the firſt Year of the eighty ſecond Olympiad, allowing thoſe two Years for his being ſaid to have outlived the Age of Ninety, which is the very Expreſſion of *Lucian*: But he might with equal Reaſon have given him a Year or two more; and I rather believe, That had *Xenophon* lived to have been Years above ninety, *Lucian* would have told us ſo in expreſs Terms; and not left us to gueſs at his Age by an uncertain and doubtful Expreſſion. Be this as it will, the ſame *Stanley* is evidently miſtaken, when he ſays, That *Xenophon* was thirty-ſix Years of Age in the fourth Year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, which all agree to have been the Time when he writ his Συμπόσιον; ſince even by his own Computation of the Time of his Birth, he could not then have been above one and thirty.

Loco citat.

The Antients have left us much in the Dark as to the Parentage of *Xenophon*: They only tell us, That he was deſcended of the People of *Erchia*, and that his Father's Name was *Gryllus*; but are wholly ſilent as to his Profeſſion and Circumſtances in the World. However, we may reaſonably conjecture that his Extraction was neither mean nor obſcure, from what *Xenophon* himſelf ſays of the intimate Familiarity there had always been between his Family, and that of *Proxenus*, the *Theban* General, who was a Man of ſo great Note and Conſideration in *Bœotia*, that he raiſed no leſs than two thouſand *Greeks* in that Country, and led them to the Aſſiſtance of the younger *Cyrus*, againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*: This was that *Proxenus*, who, as will be ſaid hereafter, was the Occaſion of our *Xenophon*'s going into the Service of that Prince; and we have ſeldom ſeen an Inſtance of ſo ſtrict a Friendſhip

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Friendſhip between Perſons of the higheſt and loweſt Rank. *Leunclavius*, and after him, *Stanley* ſay, That *Xenophon* was of the *Erchiean* Tribe; but *Erchia* ſeems rather to have been the Name of one of the People, than of one of the Tribes of *Attica*; of which laſt there were but ten, though ſome Authors make the former amount to a far greater Number, and ſay, That in the whole Country of *Attica* there were no leſs than a hundred and ſeventy four ſeveral Peoples. But of this Cuſtom of the *Athenians*, in diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the Names of the Peoples, as they called them, from which they were deſcended, and of the particular Tribes to which they belonged: See the Life of *Socrates*, p. 80. where all this is explained at large.

That *Xenophon*, in his Youth, was a Diſciple of *Socrates*, is agreed on all Hands, and the Accident by which he became one of them, is related in the Life of *Socrates*; but at what Age he firſt began to hear him, is not any where ſaid. This is certain, that he accompanied that Philoſopher in the *Peloponneſian* War; and the eighth Year of it, was actually with him in the Battle of *Delium*, where the *Athenians* were totally defeated by the *Bœotians*: In the Action *Xenophon* was thrown off his Horſe, and would have been inevitably loſt, had not *Socrates* reſcued him, and ſaved his Life. This too is before related in the Life of *Socrates*, whither to avoid Repetition I refer the Reader for this Particular, and will only add to what is there ſaid, That this overthrow of the *Athenians* happened the firſt Year of the eighty ninth Olympiad, which was the twenty ſixth of the Age of *Xenophon*, when *Iſarchus* was Archon of *Athens*.

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Strabo Geog. 5. Laertius.

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After this defeat, *Xenophon* returned to *Athens* with *Socrates*: Nor is there any mention made either

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ther that he went any more to the Wars in *Greece*, which nevertheleſs laſted nineteen Years from that Time, before a Peace was concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*; or indeed of any Thing remarkable of *Xenophon* till he went into *Aſia*, into the Service of *Cyrus*, which was not till the fourth Year of the ninety fourth Olympiad, and the nine and fortieth of his Life; *Exenætus* being then Archon.

During theſe three and twenty Years he continued at *Athens*, applying himſelf to the Study of Philoſophy; and was an aſſiduous Hearer of *Socrates*, by whoſe divine Inſtructions and Diſcourſes he became capable of performing thoſe great Actions, which have rendered his Name glorious to all Poſterity.

The Occaſion of his going into *Aſia* was this. *Darius*, King of the *Perſians*, had two Sons; one of whom was called *Artaxerxes*, the other *Cyrus*. When *Darius* was dead, *Artaxerxes*, being the eldeſt, was declared King, and ſucceeded his Father in the Monarchy of the *Perſians*. *Cyrus*, who in his Father's Life-time was Governor of *Lydia* and ſeveral other Provinces in *Aſia*, was, immediately after the Death of *Darius*, accuſed by *Tiſſaphernes* of Treaſon againſt his Brother, who threw him into Priſon, (for he was then at Court, having been ſent for by his Father, as he lay on his Death-bed) and had it not been for his Mother *Paryſatis*, would have put him to Death: But by her Interceſſion he was reſtored to his Liberty, and again ſent to his Governments in *Aſia*: No ſooner was he arrived there, than he bethought himſelf how to revenge this Affront, and to dethrone his Brother: To this Purpoſe he fell to raiſing of Troops on ſeveral Pretences, and in ſeveral Places: Of *Greeks* alone he got together at leaſt ten thouſand by the Means

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Means of ſome of his Friends; among whom was *Proxenus* the *Theban*, to whom *Cyrus* ſent to bring him as many Men as he could, to aſſiſt him, as he pretended, againſt the *Piſidians*, who at that Time infeſted his Provinces; and *Proxenus* brought him two thouſand Men whom he had raiſed in *Bœotia*.

This was the *Proxenus* we mentioned before, between whoſe Family and *Xenophon's* there had long been an intimate Friendſhip: And who having now led his two thouſand *Bœotians* to *Sardis* in *Lydia*, where *Cyrus* reſided, writ to *Xenophon* at *Athens*, to come to him into *Aſia*, promiſing to introduce him to that Prince, and likewiſe giving him Hopes, that the Friendſhip of *Cyrus* would prove of greater Advantage to him, than that of the Republick of *Athens*, or than any Thing elſe he could promiſe himſelf in his own Country. *Xenophon* ſhewed his Letter to *Socrates*, aſking his Advice, whether he ſhould go or not: But that Philoſopher wiſely ſuſpecting leſt his going into the Service of that Prince ſhould render him criminal in the Eyes of the Republick, becauſe *Cyrus* had aſſiſted the *Lacedæmonians* in the *Peloponneſian* War, adviſed him to conſult the Oracle at *Delphi*, what he were beſt to do. *Xenophon* went thither, but aſked *Apollo*, To what God he ſhould ſacrifice, in order to ſucceed in his intended Enterprize? Having received an Anſwer, he came back to *Socrates*, who blamed him for having of himſelf taken the Reſolution to undertake the Journey, and for having propoſed that Queſtion to the Oracle, whom he ought to have conſulted, whether he ſhould go or not: However, ſaid he to him, ſince you are reſolved upon it, do what the God has commanded you. *Xenophon* accordingly offered Victims to the Gods, to whom the Oracle had adviſed him to ſacrifice, and then embarked for *Sardis*. Arriving there, *Proxenus* introduced

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duced him to *Cyrus*, who was ready to set forward on his Expedition, and they both of them earnestly desired him to go along with them. *Xenophon* yielded to their Request; and without taking any Command, served as a Volunteer in the Army of *Cyrus*, who promised to give him his Discharge as soon as the War was ended. And all agree, that he conceived a great Kindness for him, and treated him with as much Respect as he did *Proxenus* himself.

It was given out, and generally believed in the Army, that they were to march against the *Pisidians*; and *Clearchus* alone of all the *Greeks* knew the contrary. But when after many Days Marches they were arrived in *Cilicia*, they plainly saw whither they were going, and upon what Design: But it was then too late to return, and they thought it a Disgrace, each of them, to abandon one another, and the Person of the Prince, though they foresaw the Danger into which they were running: And even *Xenophon* himself tells us, That these were the Considerations that prevailed with him not to leave the Army.

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The Event of this Enterprize proved fatal to *Cyrus*, who coming to an Engagement with his Brother *Artaxerxes*, was unfortunately slain. This Action happened at *Cunaxa* in *Assyria*, on the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, about a hundred Leagues from *Babylon*. The *Greeks*, who fought in a separate Body under the Command of *Clearchus* the *Lacedæmonian*, defeated the Troops of the King with whom they engaged, and that were commanded by *Tissaphernes*; and when the Evening came, not knowing any Thing of the Death of *Cyrus*, but seeing the Enemy flying on all Sides before them, believed themselves victorious, and retreated to their Camp, which to their great Surprize they found rifled by the Enemy.

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In the Night they heard of the diſaſtrous Death of *Cyrus*; and the next Morning, *Phalinus*, a *Greek*, who ſerved in the Army of *Artaxerxes*, was ſent with ſome Heralds, and required them in the Name of the King, to deliver their Arms, yield themſelves Priſoners, and implore the Mercy of *Artaxerxes*, ſince he remained victorious by the Death of his Enemy. The undaunted *Greeks* took Offence at this Meſſage from the Part of an Enemy, whom they had beaten but the Day before; and among others, who expreſſed their Indignation at it, *Xenophon* returned this Anſwer: Thou ſeeſt, *Phalinus*, that we have nothing left us but our Arms and our Liberty: We cannot preſerve the one without the other: Expect not then that we will tamely part with either; ſince ſo long as we keep them, we believe we ſhall be able to get whatever elſe we want. Thou ſpeakeſt like a Philoſopher, * young Man, replied *Phalinus*, with a ſcornful Smile, and what thou ſayeſt is not amiſs: But art thou, indeed, ſo vain, as to think that thy Virtue can triumph over the Power of the King? In a Word, *Clearchus*, in the Name of all the *Greeks*, gave this Anſwer to the Heralds: Go back, ſaid he, and tell your King, That if he intends to be our Friend, it will be beſt for him that we have Arms; if our Enemy, beſt for our ſelves.

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Not as an Officer, but as a Friend of Proxenus.

This bold and generous Reſolution of the *Greeks* put the *Perſians* upon other Meaſures; and they now contrived to circumvent and ruin by Fraud and Treachery, whom they deſpaired, and durſt not attempt to ſubdue by Force; To this Purpoſe they concluded

* The Greek has ὦ παιδίσκε, but this muſt be taken as ſpoken Ironically, for Xenophon was then at leaſt nine and forty Years of Age.

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concluded a Truce with them, and agreed to allow them a ſafe Paſſage through the Territories of the King, into their own Country. Under Colour of this, and on Pretext of an Interview, *Tiſſaphernes* perfidiouſly got *Clearchus*, and four other of the chief Commanders of the *Greeks*, viz. *Menon*, *Proxenus*, *Agias*, and *Socrates*, to his Tent: They went thither attended with a Guard of twenty Captains of Cohorts, and about two hundred Soldiers. The five Generals were admitted in, but the Captains and the Soldiers remained without; when immediately, upon a Signal given, thoſe within were ſecured, and thoſe without barbarouſly cut in Pieces: But *Tiſſaphernes* ſent the five Generals to the King, who cauſed them to be beheaded. Upon this the *Perſians* ſent again to the *Greeks*, requiring them a ſecond Time to lay down their Arms, and pretending that *Clearchus* was indeed executed, having been accuſed by *Proxenus* and *Menon* of perfidiouſly deſigning to break the Truce, and that his Accuſers were highly rewarded by the King for the Diſcovery they had made. *Xenophon*, who ſuſpected there had been ſome foul Play, required that *Proxenus* and *Menon* ſhould be ſent to them, ſince they, as being Friends to both, were the fitteſt Perſons to adviſe them in this Exigency. To which the *Perſians*, not knowing what to reply, went their Ways. Immediately *Nicharbus*, the *Arcadian*, one of the Captains who had attended the Generals, though wounded in the Belly, and bearing his Bowels in his Hands, came to the Camp of the *Greeks*, and told them the Truth of all had happened.

This woeful News ſtruck the *Greeks* with the utmoſt Conſternation: They expected every Moment when the *Perſians* would fall upon them in their Camp: They reflected that they were at the very Gates of the King; ſurrounded with great Rivers; in.

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in the midſt of many Nations their Enemies; ſix or ſeven hundred Leagues from *Greece*; deſtitute of Officers to lead them, in Want of all Manner of Proviſions, and of Means to get any: Beſides, that they had no Cavalry, and therefore if they were victorious, could not purſue their Enemies; and if they ſhould happen to be defeated, muſt every Man of them be cut off. In this miſerable Perplexity they paſſed the Night without Sleep, deſpairing ever to ſee their native Country more.

Even *Xenophon* himſelf owns, That he was in as great Inquietude as the others, and could not reſt in the Night. However, being fallen into a Slumber, he dreamt that he ſaw a Flaſh of Lightning fall on his Father's Houſe, and that it ſet it all in a Blaze. He awaked in great Diſmay; but believed the Dream ſo far to forebode him good Succeſs, that in dangerous Events a Light that comes from Heaven is held to be a proſperous Omen, and to forebode good Succeſs; but on the other Hand, the whole Houſe being ſet on Fire by Lightning, launched from the Hand of *Jupiter*, the Maſter of Thunder, made him fear it portended, That the King would ſtir up all the Nations againſt them in their Retreat; which was ſoon confirm'd by the Event. The firſt Thought that came into his Mind after he was awake, was this: What do I here? The Night wears apace, and perhaps the Enemy will attack us by Break of Day: If we once fall into their Hands, what can we expect but a cruel Death? It is high Time therefore to bethink ourſelves of our own Safety: What Army can better make a brave Effort than ours? And what Time of my Life can I expect to ſignalize myſelf in, if I neglect this Opportunity?

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Upon this he gets up, aſſembles the Officers together, repreſents to them the miſerable Condition they

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they were in, and that they had nothing to depend upon but their own Bravery: Since it could not be imagined that the Enemy would have broken the Peace in that perfidious Manner, unleſs they had firſt prepared themſelves for War: It was therefore high Time to think of their own Defence; eſpecially ſince they could not expect any Favour from the King, whoſe Crown they had endeavoured to take off his Head: He adviſed them therefore to chooſe other Officers in the Room of thoſe that were murdered, and to reſolve to make their Way Home in the beſt Manner they could. This Advice was followed, and among other Generals that were elected, he himſelf was choſen to command in the Room of his Friend *Proxenus*, who, as we ſaid before, was one of thoſe that had been murdered.

Being promoted at once, from a private Volunteer in the Army, to this high Poſt and Dignity, he dreſſed himſelf in better Cloaths than he uſually wore, believing that if he happened to be victorious, ſuch Ornaments would well become a Victor; if otherwiſe, they would decently expreſs his Quality, and ſerve as the moſt proper Funeral Decorations of a valiant Man. *Ælian* tells us, That he took great Delight in beautiful and rich Armour: That his Shield was of *Argos*, his Breaſt-Plate of *Attica*, his Helmet of *Bœotia*, his Horſe of *Epidaurus*: And from hence that Author argues the Elegance of his Perſon, and the Judgement of his Choice, in procuring himſelf Things that were no leſs beautiful than uſeful, and eſteems him to have been worthy of ſuch.

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Var. Hiſt. 3. 24.

Adorned in this military Array, he made an Harangue to the Army, adviſing them, from the Example of their late Commanders, not to think of truſting the Enemy; but in order to their more ſafe

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safe and expeditious Return, to burn their Carriages and Tents. This Advice was put in Execution, and *Cheriſophus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, had the Command of the Van; *Xenophon* of the Rear. And it was obſerved That in all the Time they were making the Retreat, there happened but one ſmall Difference between them.

In the Records of all Antiquity, there is not any Action more glorious than this Retreat. Ten Thouſand *Greeks*, who had followed the Younger *Cyrus* in his Expedition of *Aſia*, had the Courage, after the Death of that Prince, to continue the War; and by that bold and daring Reſolution, conſtrained the King of *Perſia* to ſue to them for Peace, and to furniſh them with Proviſions in their March through his Dominions. He murders, as we ſaid before, their chief Officers, under Pretext of an Interview; yet their Hearts failed them not for this Diſaſter, and tho' they were ſeven hundred Leagues diſtant from *Greece*, they retire in Preſence and ſpite of a numberleſs Army of their Enemies, having neither Cavalry nor Archers: And after they had marched over wide-extended Plains, they climb up inacceſſible Rocks and Mountains, and paſs the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* at their Source; from whence they return into their own Country by the *Euxine* Sea. The Glory of all this was chiefly due to *Xenophon*, who by many Stratagems ſhewed himſelf much ſuperiour in Conduct to the other Generals.

They firſt bent their march towards the Heads of the great Rivers that lay in their Way, that they might paſs them where they were fordable. No ſooner had they croſſed the River *Zathes*, than *Mithridates* with two hundred Horſe, and four hundred Foot, light-armed with Bows, and Darts, and Slings, came up within Shot of them, and hanging on their Rear, galled them ſeverely, wounding many of the *Greeks*, who being heavy-armed, and having no Cavalry,

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Cavalry, were forced to endure the Shot of the Enemy without Reſiſtance: *Xenophon* therefore provided two hundred Slings, and gave them to ſome *Rhodians*; he likewiſe took fifty of the Baggage-Horſes, and mounted Soldiers upon them; with this handful of Men he brought up the Rear, to make good the Retreat; and *Mithridates* coming up with them a ſecond time with twice the Number as before, they repulſed him, killing ſeveral, and taking ſome Priſoners; inſomuch that he retired, leaving the *Greeks* to purſue their March unmoleſted: In the Evening they arrived near to *Lariſſa*, on the Banks of the *Tigris*; thence they marched to *Meſpila*, but in their March thither, *Tiſſaphernes* overtook them with a great Army, and attacked them twice, but was as often beaten back, and compelled to retire. Upon this, that General ſecured an Eminence, over which the *Greeks* were obliged to paſs: Which *Xenophon* perceiving, and obſerving beſides, that there was a Mountain near at hand, which commanded that Eminence, and that if he could gain the Top of it before the Enemy, they would not be able to keep their Poſt; took a Detachment of the *Greeks*, and marched with them to ſecure that Mountain. The Enemy were ſoon aware of his Deſign, and with a Part of their Troops likewiſe endeavoured to do ſo before him. And here it was that as they were ſtriving on both Sides which firſt ſhould gain that Poſt, a Soldier of *Sicyonia*, named *Soteridas*, ſaid to *Xenophon*, who was riding along the Troops, and encouraging them to march with all the Diligence they could: Thou talkeſt at thy eaſe, ſaid he, *Xenophon*; for thou art on Horſeback, and I on Foot; ſcarce able to move under the Weight of my Buckler. *Xenophon* hearing him, leaps off his Horſe, thruſts the Soldier out of the Ranks, ſnatches from him his Buckler, and puts himſelf in his Place. The Soldiers fell to puſhing and reviling the *Sicyonian*, till they

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they compelled him to retake his Poſt in the Ranks; but *Xenophon* finding himſelf very much incumbered, with his Cuiraſs, for he was heavy-armed like a Trooper, not like a Foot-Soldier, again mounted his Horſe, and continuing to animate his Troops, they gained the Summit of the Mountain before the Enemy, who thereupon betook themſelves to flight, burning the Villages, and deſtroying all the Proviſions the Country afforded, the more to diſtreſs the *Greeks* in their Retreat. Theſe laſt being intercepted by the River *Tigris*, marched with great difficulty over rocky Mountains into the Country of the *Carduchi*, a rough and warlike People, Enemy to the *Perſians*, and from whom they found ſuch Oppoſition, that in ſeven Days march thro' their Territories, they were continually forced to fight their Way, and ſuffered more Fatigues and Hardſhips than the *Perſians* themſelves had put them to.

Then fording the River *Centrites*, which bounds that Country, they entered into *Armenia*, where having put to flight an Army compoſed of *Mygdonians*, *Armenians*, and *Chaldeans*, under the Command of *Artuchus* and *Orontes*, they purſued their March without Diſturbance, to near the Sources of the *Tigris*, and there paſſed that River. Thence they marched to the River *Teleboa* in the occidental *Armenia*, and having croſſed it, proceeded to the *Euphrates*, which they paſſed likewiſe near its Source: They continued their Way to the River *Phaſis*, marching thro' deep Snows, in which ſeveral of the *Greeks* were loſt, and ſome periſhed with Hunger and Cold.

Near the *Phaſis* lived the *Phaſiani*, the *Taochi*, and the *Chalybes*: Who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Paſſes of the Mountains, to hinder the *Greeks* from deſcending into the Plains: But they were ſoon defeated and fled. Then the *Greeks* marched through thoſe Countries to the River *Harpaſus*, and thence to

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to *Gymnias*, a Town belonging to the *Scytheni*; the Prince of which Place gave them Guides to conduct them through the Enemies Country to the Mountain *Thecbes*; where being arrived, they to their great Joy beheld the Sea. They paſſed as Friends through the Country of the *Macrones* to the Mountains of *Colchus*, where defeating the *Colchians*, who diſputed their Paſſage, they thence marched to *Trapezus*, a City on the *Euxine* Sea, where there was a *Greek* Colony.

From thence, they ſent *Cheriſophus* to *Anaxibius*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, to procure Ships to tranſport them into their own Country: While they waited here in Expectation of his Return, they ſupported themſelves by Incurſions they made on the *Colchians*, and the *Drillians*; but he not returning as they expected, and thoſe Countries being exhauſted, and not affording them Proviſions any longer, *Xenophon* marched them by Land to *Ceraſus* in *Colchis*, a *Greek* Colony of *Sinopians*, ſituate on the Sea, where he muſtered the Troops, and found them only 8600 Men, the reſt of the 10,000 having been either killed by the Enemy, loſt in the Snows, or otherwiſe deſtroyed by the Fatigues and Hardſhips they had ſuffered in this Retreat. During the ten Days they ſtaid at *Ceraſus*, they ſold the Slaves and other Booty they had taken, and ſhared the Money, having firſt put the tenth Part of it into the Hands of their Generals, to be conſecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*. The Part of *Cheriſophus*, who was abſent, being depoſited in the Hands of *Neon*, who was his Lieutenant.

Leaving *Ceraſus*, they marched through the Country of the *Moſynæci*, a barbarous People, whom they found divided into Factions: The ſtronger Party ſlighting their Friendſhip, they joined with the weaker, and left them Maſters of all. Then they marched through the Country of the *Chalybes*, and

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and thence through that of the *Tibareni*, without any Oppoſition, to *Cotyora*, after having made a Retreat of ſix hundred and twenty Leagues, in one hundred and twenty-two Days Marches, and in the ſpace of eight Months.

This is the Computation of the Diſtance from the Field of Battle near *Cunaxa*, where *Cyrus* engaged with *Artaxerxes*, to *Cotyora*: But computing the Diſtance from *Epheſus*, whence the *Greeks* firſt ſet out, to *Cunaxa*, and thence to *Cotyora*, that is to ſay, all the Way they went, as well going as coming, it amounts to about eleven hundred and fifty Leagues, which they marched in two hundred and fifteen Days, in the Space of fifteen Months. This I the rather thus particularly obſerve, that it may not be imagined, we are to reckon their Retreat even to *Pergamus*: For the contrary is evident from the Computation of the Time, and of the Marches of the Army, as they are expreſly mentioned by our *Xenophon*, in his Hiſtory of the Expedition of *Cyrus*.

The Inhabitants of *Cotyora* refuſing to ſell them Proviſions, or to entertain their Sick, they entered the Town by Force, and lived at Diſcretion, partly in the Territories of that People, partly in *Paphlagonia*: Upon this the City of *Sinope*, to which *Cotyora* was tributary, ſent Deputies complaining of that Violence, and threatening to join with the *Paphlagonians*, and repel Force by Force. But *Xenophon* reſolutely anſwered them, That the *Greeks* were not afraid of engaging in a War with both of them; and that if they thought fit, they could gain the Friendſhip of the *Paphlagonians* as well as they. Upon this the Deputies changed their Language, promiſed them all Aſſiſtance from the State of *Sinope*, and to furniſh them with Tranſports for the whole Army, it being impoſſible for them to march by Land,

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Land, becauſe of the Rivers *Thermodon*, *Halys*, *Iris* and *Parthenius*.

Here *Xenophon*, deſirous to do ſomething that might redound to the Honour of all *Greece*, intended to have founded a Colony, which he promiſed himſelf would one Day be very conſiderable, as well becauſe of the Weakneſs of the bordering People, as becauſe it was not poſſible to aſſemble ſo fine an Army in Places ſo remote, without much Trouble and Expence. Before he imparted this Deſign to the Troops, he ſacrificed to the Gods to have their Approbation of it; but the Soothſayer *Silanus*, whom he had deſired to aſſiſt him at the Sacrifices, fearing that he ſhould not return into *Greece*, where he had a Mind to make a ſhew of his Riches, for *Cyrus* had given him ten Talents of Gold, publiſhed it abroad, That *Xenophon* to get himſelf a Name, intended to found a Colony on the *Euxine* Sea. Some approved his Deſign, others condemned it: But *Timaſion* and *Thorax*, two of the *Greek* Commanders, took Occaſion from hence to tell ſome Merchants of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, who were in the Camp, that the Soldiers would not be gone, unleſs they were ſupplied with Money to buy themſelves the Neceſſaries they wanted, and that *Xenophon* had adviſed them to ſeize their Ships, in order to go and conquer ſome Country, and ſettle themſelves there; ſince there was no Occaſion for them, and they would be uſeleſs when they came back into *Greece*. The Merchants having reported this to their Cities, the Inhabitants, apprehending it might prove ſo indeed, ſent to acquaint *Timaſion* and *Thorax*, That if they could prevail with the Army to be gone, they would not only provide them with a ſufficient Number of Tranſports, but promiſed likewiſe to give them a good Sum of Money to convey them to *Troas*: Theſe Offers *Xenophon*

De Expedit. Cyr. lib. 1.

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phon, who desired only the common Good, persuaded them to accept, and to engage mutually not to forsake one another till they were all in Safety. The *Heracleans* sent the Shipping, but not the Money; upon which *Timasion* and *Thorax* fearing the Resentment of the Soldiers, who had relied on the Promises they had made them, came to *Xenophon*, telling him, they were sorry they had ever made that Proposal to the Troops, and that they judged it more advisable, now they had Vessels to transport them, to go and render themselves Masters of the Countries that lay on the Banks of the *Phasis*, and of which the Son of *Æetas* was King. *Xenophon* told them they might propose it themselves to the Soldiers, but he would not concern himself in that Affair. This Answer *Timasion* and *Thorax* represented quite otherwise to the Army, to whom they insinuated, That *Xenophon* was plotting to deceive them: But he assembled the Troops together, and telling them the whole Truth of this Affair, acquitted himself, with Honour, of this false Imputation.

They continued at *Cotyora* five and forty Days; and here it was that a general Inquiry was made into all the Abuses and Offences that had been committed since the Death of *Cyrus*. Some accused *Xenophon* of beating and using them ill without Reason; but he asked the first who complained, when it was that he had beaten him? He answered, when we were marching through the Snows. Indeed, says *Xenophon*, if I treated thee amiss when we were in that Extremity, without Bread, without Wine, and the Enemy at the very Heels of us, I confess myself worse than those ill-contrived Animals, whose Untowardness is said to hinder them from feeling the Smart of the Blows we give them. But why did I strike thee? Was it to take any Thing from thee that was thine?

Asses.

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or becauſe I caught thee with a diſhoneſt Woman, or did I inſult thee through Heat of Liquor? None of all this, anſwered the Soldier, but I was driving a Mule, as my Comrades had deſired me. At theſe Words *Xenophon* recollected who he was, and aſked him, if he were not the Man, who was carrying a ſick Perſon, whom he had given to his Care. I am he, ſaid the Fellow, by the ſame Token that you made me throw away the Baggage of my Fellow-ſoldiers, to ſet him upon my Mule. I will tell you, Gentlemen, replied *Xenophon*, how this happened: One of my Soldiers being fallen down by the Way, with Fatigue and Wearineſs, unable to march one Step farther, I commanded this Fellow to ſet him upon his Mule, and keep up with the Van of the Army, becauſe the Enemy were hanging on our Rear: Nevertheleſs I found him behind, and digging a Grave to bury the Soldier I had ordered him to take Care of. I at firſt commended him for that good Office, believing the Soldier to be dead: But immediately perceived him move one of his Legs; and all who were preſent cried out, that he was alive. Alive or dead, ſays this Spark, I will not carry him one Step farther. I confeſs I then ſtruck him, knowing the other to be alive: And is he not dead? ſaid the Fellow. *Xenophon* replied; we ſhall all die; but it is not therefore permitted to bury us alive. Beſides, as to the Baggage he complains of; I gave it to others to carry, and none of it is loſt. Then they all cried out, that he had not been puniſhed equal to the Heinouſneſs of his Crime: And none elſe appearing to accuſe *Xenophon*, he continued thus his Diſcourſe. I confeſs, Gentlemen, that I have ſtruck ſeveral for having quitted their Ranks, and ſtraggled from their Troops to Pillage the Country; for if all of them had done ſo, we had not now been where we are. I remember too, that I ſtruck one who would not keep up with the Army, but lagged behind,

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behind, in Danger of being taken by the Enemy; ſo that I was forced to make him take Care of himſelf in ſpite of his Teeth. But is it juſt, Gentlemen, thus to publiſh my Failings, and to make known my Paſſion, while not a Man of you takes Notice of the Favours and good Turns I have done you? Is it not more honourable, more juſt, and even more ſatisfactory to a Mind truly generous, to remember Benefits than Injuries: Yet no Man confeſſes that I have ſheltered him from the Inclemencies of the Weather, ſuccoured him in Danger, relieved him in Neceſſity, commended his good Actions, and rewarded his Bravery. After this the whole Army rung with the Praiſes of *Xenophon*.

The *Greeks* having now got together a ſufficient Number of Ships, embarked, and ſet Sail from *Cotyora*: When they arrived at *Harmene*, the Port of *Sinope*, *Cheriſophus* met them with ſome Galleys from *Anaxibius*; but brought them not the Money, which the Soldiers expected; and only told them the Army ſhould be paid, when they were got out of the *Euxine* Sea. Here the Troops conſidering they were not far diſtant from their own Country, were loath to go home empty-handed, and reſolved, come of it what would, to get ſome Booty ſome where or other. The better to cover their Deſign, and to execute it the more eaſily, they determined to put themſelves under the Command of one ſingle Man, and to chuſe a General. They unanimouſly caſt their Eyes upon *Xenophon*, and all the Captains came to him, to acquaint him with the Reſolution of the Army, and with great Teſtimonies of Affection, joined with many Intreaties, beſought him to accept of that Command. *Xenophon* ſaw well that this was an increaſe of Honour, which would procure him more reſpect from the whole Army, and put him in a condition to render them greater Services; and ſo far he would have been glad to yield to their Requeſt:

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Requeſt: But when he came to reflect, that future Events are uncertain, and that he ſhould perhaps loſe the Glory he had already acquired, he remained in ſuſpence, and would refer the Affair to the Will of the Gods: In this Intention he ſacrificed to *Jupiter* the Sovereign; but the Sacrifices not proving favourable, and the God not ſeeming to approve his acceptance of the Generalſhip, he abſolutely refuſed that Command; to which *Cheriſophus*, whom he had recommended as a more proper Perſon than himſelf, was thereupon promoted: But enjoyed it not above ſix or ſeven Days; for no ſooner were they arrived at *Heraclea*, a *Greek* Colony of the People of *Megara* in the Country of the *Maryandenians*, than the Army depoſed him, for refuſing to extort a Sum of Money from the Inhabitants of that City. *Xenophon* likewiſe denying to concern himſelf in that Affair, the Army fell into a Mutiny, and divided into three Bodies; of which the *Achaians* and *Arcadians* made the chief, to the Number of 4500 Men, who choſe ten Officers of their own to command them: With *Cheriſophus* remained 2000, and with *Xenophon* about the ſame Number, forty of whom were Horſe, which was their whole Cavalry. *Cheriſophus* led his Troops by Land, to meet *Cleander*, Governor of *Byzantium*, at the Port of *Calpes*, leaving what Ships he had to *Xenophon*, who embarking with his Troops, ſet Sail, and landing in the Confines of * *Thrace*, and of the Country of *Heraclea*, marched thro' the midſt of it without offering the leaſt Violence to the Inhabitants. The Mutineers landing at *Calpes*, ravaged the Country round; upon which the *Thracians* taking Arms againſt them, cut off two Regiments, and ſurrounded a Hill where the reſt were encamped. *Xenophon* having received Advice of the deſperate Condition of theſe *Greeks*, marched directly to their Relief, ſetting on Fire as he went all that was combuſtible: This he did to ſtrike

* This is the *Aſiatic Thrace*, otherwiſe called *Bithynia*.

ſtrike the greater Dread into the Enemy, who fearing they ſhould be attacked, decamped and ſtole away in the Night; as did the *Greeks* alſo; whom *Xenophon* overtaking in the Road to *Calpes*, they received him with great Joy; the Soldiers embracing one another like Brothers: And when they arrived at the Port, they unanimouſly made an Order, That it ſhould be Death for any Man henceforward to propoſe to divide the Army. Here the Mutineers depoſed their ten Commanders; and *Xenophon* was again elected to lead the whole Army as before, together with *Neon*, whom they appointed to command in the Room of *Cheriſophus*, who was dead. This *Neon* going out with a Detachment of two thouſand Men to pillage the Country, was defeated by *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant of the King of *Perſia*, and loſt five hundred Men; but *Xenophon*, coming to his Aſſiſtance, reſcued and brought off the reſt. After this, *Xenophon* marched the Army thro' a large Morſs, in which *Pharnabazus* had poſted his Troops to oppoſe their Paſſage; but they intirely defeated him, and purſuing their Way thro' *Bithynia* arrived at *Chryſopolis* in the Territories of *Chalcedonia*, from whence *Anaxibius*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, tranſported them to *Byzantium*, having firſt promiſed them all their Arrears upon their arrival there. This he did at the Inſtance of *Pharnabazus*, who feared that otherwiſe they would at laſt make themſelves intire Maſters of the Country he governed, and ſettle themſelves there.

The whole Army being in *Byzantium*, *Anaxibius* gave Orders that they ſhould march out with all their Arms and Baggage, pretending to review them at the Gates of that City, before they were cleared off, and ſent away. The Soldiers made no haſte to be gone; but grumbled that they were not paid. *Xenophon* went to take Leave of the Governor, *Cleander*, who conjured him to ſtay till all the Soldiers were

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were out of the Gates, becauſe he was accuſed of being the Cauſe of that Delay. He anſwered, That he wondered not that the Troops were loath to be gone, having neither Proviſions, nor Money to buy any; but that for his Part, he hindered them not. *Anaxibius* likewiſe requeſted him to lead them out of the City, and to publiſh an Order, that whoever was not at the Review ſhould be puniſhed. Accordingly they were marching out, their Officers at the Head of them, while *Eteonicus* continued at the Gate to ſhut it as ſoon as they were gone. When almoſt all of them were without the Gate, *Anaxibius* called the Officers, and told them, they might take what they wanted in the Villages of *Thrace*, where they would find Plenty of Proviſions, and march from thence into *Cherſoneſus*, where he would take care they ſhould be paid. A Captain and ſome Soldiers who were preſent, went and reported this to the Army. The Troops finding themſelves diſappointed, were highly incenſed, and ran back to the Gate, which *Eteonicus* had ſhut againſt them; however thoſe who were left within the City, ſoon found Means to break it open, and let in their Companions. The Inhabitants, who were in the Streets fled, ſome of them to the Sea-ſide, others into their Houſes; they who were within Doors came out upon the Noiſe, and ſome drew the Gallies to Sea, in Order to make their Eſcape: *Eteonicus* got into the Caſtle, and *Anaxibius* put to Sea in an open Boat: In a Word, all was in the utmoſt Confuſion, every one believing the Town taken, and giving all over for loſt. *Xenophon* perceiving this Diſorder, and fearing they would plunder the City, made all the haſte he could, and got in among the reſt: The Soldiers flocked about him in Crowds, crying out, That now was the Time to make himſelf great, and them rich, ſince he had in his Power, Men, Ships, a City, and Money. To appeaſe them, he firſt of

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of all flatters them with Hopes that he will comply with their Desires, and draws them up in the great Square of the City, which was called, *The Square of Thrace*. There having laid down their Arms by his Order, he addressed himself to them as follows.

Xenophon's Speech to the Army at Byzantium.

I wonder not, Fellow-soldiers, that you are in a Rage at the foul Play which has been shewn you, nor that you are resolved to do yourselves Right: But consider, I beseech you, what will be the Issue of the Vengeance you are going to take. After you have plundered this City, and murdered the *Lacedæmonians*, you will be deemed open Enemies of their Republick, and of all their Allies: And you may judge how dangerous a War you will draw upon yourselves, by that which is passed, and which most of you have seen and remember. When my Country took Arms against them, we had four hundred Galleys at Sea, or in Harbour, great Sums of Money in our Treasury, above a thousand Talents of yearly Revenue, and were Masters of all the Islands of *Greece*, and of several Cities in *Asia*, and in *Europe*, of which even this was one. Notwithstanding all this we were conquered, and compelled to submit to their Empire. How then can we defend ourselves against them, now when *Athens* is of their Side, together with all its Allies, and the whole Confederacy of the *Achaians*? Shall we implore the Assistance of the King of the *Persians*, we, who would have dethroned him, or of *Tissaphernes*, who basely betrayed us? Have we not already for Enemies all the Barbarians on the Sea Coast? Who is he then among us, who reflecting on all this, will think of Revenge, and be so foolish or mad as to believe, that we can get the better of all these Powers? For God's Sake let us not commit an irretrievable Folly, and declare War

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War againſt our Relations and our Friends, who are ſhut up in the Places, that will become our Enemies. Shall it be ſaid of us, That after having ſpared ſo many Cities of the Barbarians, we have plundered the firſt we came to in our own Country? Rather than be a Witneſs of this, I pray the Gods to ſtrike me with a thouſand Deaths. My Opinion therefore, Fellow-ſoldiers, is, that we ought to apply ourſelves to thoſe who command in *Greece*, to have Redreſs for this Injury: Above all, let us not deprive ourſelves of all Hopes of returning, but ſend to tell *Anaxibius*, That we are not entered again into the City to offer any Violence, but to obtain ſome Favour of him, and to let the World ſee at leaſt, that we retire freely of our own Accord, and are not Men to be impoſed upon.

This was the Harangue he made to the Army in that dangerous Occaſion; and as to the Effect it wrought upon them, we have the authentick Teſtimony of one of the Antients, who was then at *Byzantium*, and gave one of his Friends an Account of it in the following Letter.

A LETTER *from a Philoſopher to his Friend, concerning* Xenophon's *hindering* Byzantium *from being plundered.*

* CHIO to MATRIS.

MANY Thanks to the Winds, that have detained me at *Byzantium*; though I was in ſuch Haſte, that I could at firſt have curſt them with all my Heart: But they have made me large Amends for having hindered me ſome Time from the Purſuit of my Journey, ſince this Delay has procured me the Acquaintance of *Xenophon*, the Friend

* This was the Chio who killed Clearchus, the Tyran of Heraclea in Pontus.

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Friend of *Socrates*, and one of those who accompanied *Cyrus* in his Expedition. He served at first in this War without having any Office, and was one of those for whom *Cyrus* had a particular Regard: But after the Death of that Prince, and the treacherous Murder of the Generals, being made Choice of to succeed one of them, he deceived not the Hopes the *Greeks* had of him: But by his Bravery and prudent Conduct preserved the Army even in that fatal Conjuncture, though they encamped every Day in Sight of the King's, which was many Times their Number. This is indeed great and worthy of Admiration: Yet what I am going to tell you, and of which I myself was an Eye-witness, is far more glorious and surprizing. When after a long and troublesome Retreat, and without having received any Recompence for the Fatigues and Dangers they had undergone, the Troops were arrived at *Byzantium*, they resolved to ransack that City, which trembled at first to admit them in, but durst not do otherwise, and having got them out by Stratagem, they entered it again by Force. In this Extremity I betook myself to Arms as well as others; and as soon as I heard the Trumpet sound, I ran to the Ramparts, where some young Fellows were got together: Though, to say Truth, it was in vain to think of defending the Walls; when the Enemy had already entered the Place: But we thought, That having the Advantage of that Post, we might make the better Defence, or at least foreslow awhile our inevitable Destruction: From thence we saw coming up to them, a handsome Man, of a mild and affable Aspect, and who wore his Hair very long: He went through their Ranks, and allayed the madding Rage of the Soldiers, who cried out to him, That he would yield to the Desires

For the Promises that had been made them, were not kept.

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of the whole Army, and after ſo tedious a Tempeſt, ſuffer them at Length to enter into Port. He made them lay down their Arms, on Pretence of deliberating on this Affair: And then placing himſelf in the midſt of them, he made an Harangue to them, which we could not diſtinctly hear at that Diſtance, though we ſoon perceived the Effects of it: For the Soldiers, who before were fully bent upon plundering the City, and juſt upon the Point of executing their Deſign, changed at once their Reſolution; and we ſaw them quietly go to Market, and buy what they wanted. This was to us an unqueſtionable Evidence as well of the good Nature and Mildneſs of Temper of *Xenophon*, for he was the Man we ſaw, as of his Prudence and perſuaſive Eloquence: Nor could I forbear going to thank him as the Author of my Deliverance and Preſervation. When I had let him know who I am, he ſpoke to me of your Friendſhip with *Socrates*, and exhorted me to the Love of Philoſophy, entertaining me on ſeveral Subjects, not like a Man of the Sword, who breathes only Blood and Slaughter, but with great Meekneſs and Humanity. He is now leading the Army to the Service of *Seuthes*, King of *Thrace*, who, being at War with his Neighbours, hath ſent to invite them into his Pay: And they have the rather accepted the Offers he has made them; becauſe being in a poor Condition, they are deſirous to get ſomething before they are diſbanded. For my Part, I go hence the more chearfully to Philoſophize at *Athens*: For if you remember, when you firſt encouraged me to do ſo, as he now has done; and when you repreſented to me the great Advantages all had found, who had embraced any Part of Philoſophy, I agreed with you in every Thing you ſaid; but only feared that it would render me leſs fit for * the Trade of War. For Philoſophy makes us indeed

* Or, for Action; The Greek ſays τὸ πραξικὸν.

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deed more virtuous, since it is that which teaches us the Rules of Justice and Temperance: But it obliges us to lead a quiet Life, remote from the Noise and Hurry of Affairs. I was vexed therefore to consider, that by growing better, I should become less capable to serve my Friends and my Country; as if Philosophy would have held me inchanted, and have tied up my Strength and my Courage. But *Xenophon* has fully convinced me of the contrary, not so much by his Words as by his Example: For, by having been a Disciple of *Socrates*, he is grown the more capable to defend and preserve Cities, as well as the more fit to command Armies. Thus, though a retired Life be perhaps the most happy, a Philosopher will not despise that which consists in Action, when Occasion offers, of being useful either to others or to himself, and will acquit himself well, and come off with Honour in all he undertakes. For if he can overcome his Passions, he will certainly be able to get the better of his Enemies, which is a much easier Conquest: For we see daily Examples of Conquerors who fall a Prey to Lust and Avarice. I hope, therefore, that by the Study of Virtue I shall become not only a better Man, but more brave too, though less cruel and vain-glorious. But of these Things enough at present: The Wind sits fair, and calls upon me to embark.

Xenophon having thus appeased the Troops, led them out of *Byzantium*, where they had not committed the least Disorder; and then being desirous once more to see his native Country, took Leave of the Army, and returned into that City, designing to embark there for *Athens*. But *Anaxibius* being put out of the Admiralty, and finding himself no longer in Esteem with *Pharnabazus*, but even slighted by him, though it was at his Instigation that he had treated the *Greeks* so ill, and broken the Promis-

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Promiſes he had made them; to revenge this Affront, prevailed with *Xenophon* to return to the Army, and lead them to *Perinthus*, in order to repaſs into *Aſia*; and to this Purpoſe, gave him a Letter to the Inhabitants of that Place, commanding them to furniſh the *Greeks* with Veſſels for their Tranſportation. The Troops received him again with great Joy, and deſired nothing more than to go back again into that Country. But when they came to *Perinthus*, and were preparing in all Diligence for their Paſſage, *Ariſtarchus*, who was appointed Governor in the Room of *Cleander*, and whom *Pharnabazus* had gained over to his Intereſt, arrives from *Byzantium*, and forbids the Maſters of the Veſſels to tranſport them; then coming to the Army, which lay incamped without the Walls of the Town, forbid them likewiſe to imbark. *Xenophon* told him, That they had Orders from *Anaxibius*; but he anſwered, That *Anaxibius* was no longer Admiral, That *Perinthus* belonged to his Government, and that if he caught any of them endeavouring to go over, he would cauſe them to be thrown into the Sea.

Now during theſe Tranſactions, *Seuthes*, King of the *Thracians*, had ſent to invite the *Greeks* to aſſiſt him againſt *Medochus*, Uſurper of his Kingdom, offering large Pay to the Officers and Soldiers, and promiſing *Xenophon* to give him his Daughter in Marriage. He conſidering it would be impoſſible for them to repaſs into *Aſia*, without the Conſent of *Ariſtarchus*, who had Gallies ready to purſue them, in caſe they ſhould attempt to do ſo; and that if they ſhould ſhut themſelves up in the *Cherſoneſus*, they ſhould depend intirely on the *Lacedæmonians*, and conſequently the Troops would be in Danger of ſtarving to Death, adviſed them to make a Virtue of Neceſſity, and embrace the Offers *Seuthes* had made them. To this they all readily gave their Aſſent, believing

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believing it the beſt Courſe they could take in their then preſent Circumſtances. Accordingly he led them into the Service of that Prince, who by their Aſſiſtance gained great Advantages over his Enemies, yet nevertheleſs kept not his Word either with the Officers or Soldiers, who thereupon refuſed to ſerve him any longer; until *Xenophon* having procured ſome of the Pay that was due to them, they conſented to proceed towards the Country of the *Melinophagi*, as far as *Salmydeſſus*; and having reduced thoſe Places to the Obedience of *Seuthes*, they returned to the Plains of *Selybria*. Hither came to them *Charminus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, and *Polynicus*, whom *Thimbro* had ſent to acquaint them, that the *Lacedæmonians* had reſolved to wage War againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, and had made Choice of him for their General, who deſired the *Greeks* to aſſiſt him, promiſing large Pay both to the Officers and Soldiers. They, believing this a fair Opportunity to revenge themſelves of the Perfidy of *Tiſſaphernes*, readily gave Ear to this Propoſal, and *Seuthes* thinking by this Means to exempt himſelf from paying the Arrears that were due to them, made no Scruple to let them go. And here it was, that an *Arcadian* took Occaſion to accuſe *Xenophon*, pretending that the Army would long ſince have been in the Service of the *Lacedæmonians*, if he had not prevented it, and made them paſs the whole Winter amidſt the Fatigues of War, while he enriched himſelf at the Expence of their Lives and Labours: And proteſted, That for his Part, he ſhould not think what he had miſimployed, if he gave it all to ſee him ſtoned to Death. Another roſe up, and ſpoke to the ſame Purpoſe, and then a third. *Xenophon*, aſtoniſhed at this Ingratitude from the Part of Men, whom he had ſo often delivered from

So called from their eating of Panick, which is a ſort of Millet.

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from Dangers, in which, but for him, they would certainly have periſhed, addreſſed himſelf to the Army in theſe Words.

Xenophon's Speech to the Army when it was propoſed to ſtone him to Death.

After what I now hear, let no Man be ſurprized at whatever happens to him, ſince I am thus rewarded for the Services I have rendered you, and meet only Blame, where I had ſo much Reaſon to expect Praiſe. I was returning home loaded with Honour, when hearing to what Streights you were reduced, I put off my Journey to endeavour to reſcue you. Tho' *Seuthes* had ſent to make me conſiderable Promiſes, if I would perſuade you to follow him; I endeavoured it not, as you yourſelves know; but thought to have led you where I believed it more for your Advantage, and you were rather inclined to go. But when we were juſt upon the Point of repaſſing into *Aſia*, *Ariſtarchus* came with Gallies to hinder us: I then called you together to conſult what to do: One of them deſired you to march into the *Cherſoneſus*, the other to enter into his Service; and you made Choice of the laſt. Tell me then, in the Name of the Gods, am I to blame for having led you where you all with one Conſent reſolved to go? If, ſince *Seuthes* firſt broke his Word with you, I have detained you by Force in his Service, you have Reaſon to complain. But if, on the contrary, of Friends as we were before, we are now become Enemies, why do you deſign me any Ill, for having eſpouſed your Intereſts to his Prejudice? You ſay, that I am grown rich at your Expence: To which I have only this to anſwer: If *Seuthes* has made me any Preſent, he did it not with Deſign to be a Loſer, but by that Means to exempt himſelf from paying what he owed you. If you ſuſpect that any thing of this Nature has paſſed between us, you may eaſily convict us of it:

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it: For you need only demand your Money of him, and he will not fail to fall upon me, to oblige me to be as good as my Word: But ſo far am I from having received any of yours, that I call all the Gods and all the Goddeſſes at once to witneſs, That he has not even performed his Promiſe to me. There he ſtands, and knows if I am forſworn. Nay more; I affirm, That I have not been treated upon an equal Foot with others, and that ſome of the Captains have received more than my ſelf. But why do you think I ſuffered it? Becauſe I believed, that the more I obliged him in his Neceſſity, the more grateful he would be in his Proſperity; tho' I now well ſee the contrary. But ſome may aſk me: Art thou not aſhamed to be thus impoſed upon? Yes, I ſhould, if it had been done by an Enemy; but in Friendſhip, it is more diſhonourable to deceive, than to be deceived; eſpecially when one has given no Reaſon for it: For I never did him the leaſt Diſkindneſs; never retarded his Affairs; nor refuſed any Danger when his Intereſt lay at Stake. But you will ſay, I ought to have taken Sureties of him before Hand. To this, Gentlemen, I have only one Thing to anſwer: That the Circumſtances of your Affairs would not permit it. I ſhould be cautious of ſaying this in his Preſence, did not you compel me by your Ingratitude. Is it not true, That *Ariſtarchus* would not ſuffer a Man of you to ſet his Foot within the Walls of *Perinthus*, and that you incamped in the open Air? That you were in a ſtrange Country without Proviſions, without Money, without any Means of embarking during the Winter, and that he had his Gallies to hinder you? In this Extremity then, if I had made you enter into the Service of *Seuthes* without Money, I ſhould have done you a Kindneſs, ſince you could not have ſubſiſted otherwiſe. And if he, who has procured you Subſiſtance and Safety, has not been ſo happy as to find Money

too

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too for you, does he deserve Death for this? Certainly you ought rather to return Thanks to the Gods, than thus complain of your Leader. And now, having seen your own Condition, reflect a little upon his. When I took Leave of you at *Byzantium*, I retired loaded with Praises and Benedictions: I was in esteem with the *Greeks*, and honoured by Strangers: The *Lacedæmonians* confided in me; for it was they who sent me back to you; and now I see my self calumniated in their Presence, and for your Sakes hated by a Prince, whose Country, I flattered myself, might one Day serve me as a Place of Retreat, both for myself and Family. Nevertheless, after having upon your Account incurred the Hatred of Men greater than myself, you have such base unworthy Thoughts of your Benefactor. And yet I came not to your Service an Exile, or a Fugitive; and if you put me to Death, know that you put to Death a Brave Man, who hath oft run the hazard of his Life to preserve yours, and planted many Trophies with you in the Enemy's Country; but above all, one that has never shut the Gates of *Greece* against you; for even at this time you may go wherever you please. And now when there offers a favourable Opportunity of returning into *Asia*, where I have long wished you, as you have yourselves, and in the Service too of the *Lacedæmonians*, who are the Masters and Arbitrators of all *Greece*, you think it Time to get rid of me: In your Afflictions, you called me your Father, your Saviour, and your Deliverer, O ye most ungrateful of all Men! and vowed, that no Length of Time should ever efface the Remembrance of my Services. But know from me, that they to whom you are going are not unjust, and will not value you one Jot the more for this treacherous Ingratitude.

Having said this, he held his Peace: And *Charminus* rising, said, That he saw no Reason they had to

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to complain of *Xenophon*; and that he could render this Teſtimony in his Behalf, that they having aſked *Seuthes*, What Sort of Man he was? he had ſaid nothing ill of him, but only that he ſhewed himſelf too zealous for the Good of the Soldiers, which would be prejudicial to him with us, as it had been with him. After this, ſeveral others ſpoke in his Favour; inſomuch, that no Man durſt murmur againſt him. And *Seuthes*, who was loath to part with him, laid hold of this Opportunity to ſend and offer him, That if he would continue in his Service, with only a Thouſand Soldiers, he would give him all he had promiſed him, together with ſome Towns on the Sea Coaſt: And to encourage him, let him know as a Secret, that *Polynicus* had informed him, that it would not be ſafe for him to be with the *Lacedæmonians*; and that *Thimbro* would put him to Death. He received likewiſe the ſame Advice from ſeveral other Hands; but nothing could ſtagger his Reſolution of not leaving the Troops, till he had delivered them to *Thimbro*, General of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Accordingly, he embarked with them, and ſailed to *Lampſacus* in *Myſia*, a Province of *Aſia*: And there it was that *Euclides*, a Soothſayer, whom *Xenophon* had formerly known, came to welcome him upon his Return into that Country, and aſking him, How much he had ſaved in that Expedition, for he imagined him to be grown very rich, *Xenophon* proteſted ſolemnly, that he had not enough to carry him home, unleſs he ſold his Horſe and Equipage. Which he actually did at this Place.

The next Day they marched to *Ophrynium*, whither came *Bito* and *Euclides* with Pay for the Army. They being Friends to *Xenophon*, reſtored to him, without taking any Money, his Horſe, which thro' Neceſſity he had ſold at *Lampſacus*, having been told he was loath to part with him. After this, the Army

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Army marched to *Troy*, and traverſing Mount *Ida*, arrived at *Antandros*, whence coaſting along the Sea, they reached the Plain of *Thebes*; thence marching through *Atramyttium* and *Certonium*, they came to the Plain of *Caicus*, and at length to *Pergamus*, a City in *Lydia*. At their arrival here, *Xenophon* was informed, that *Aſidates*, a *Perſian* Lord, was lately gone from thence in order to return Home with his Wife, Children, and all his Equipage; among which there was ſaid to be a great Sum of Money. *Xenophon*, with a Detachment of his Troops, went immediately in ſearch of him. *Aſidates*, having Intelligence that he was purſued, got under the Walls of *Parthenium*, where nevertheleſs he was taken with all his Treaſure: And *Xenophon* returning with his Booty to *Pergamus*, found it amounted to a very great Value; inſomuch, that in Reward of all his Hardſhips and Fatigues, he had at length the Satisfaction to ſee himſelf in a Condition of doing Good to others. At laſt came *Thimbro*, who having received the Troops from *Xenophon*, joined them with his own, and marched againſt *Pharnabazus* and *Tiſſaphernes*. Thus ended this Expedition, which took up about two Years of the Life of *Xenophon*.

After this, that is to ſay, the firſt Year of the 96th *Olympiad*, he went into *Aſia* with *Ageſilaus*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, who was then waging War againſt the King of *Perſia*, over whom he gained ſo many Advantages, that it was believed he would totally have overthrown the *Perſian* Empire, had he not, the ſecond Year of that War, been obliged, in the midſt of his Victories, to return into *Greece*, to reduce to Obedience the *Thebans*, whom the *Perſians*, to draw the War out of their own Country, had bribed to Revolt againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. Being come back into *Bœotia*, he laid waſte the Country, and obtained a compleat Victory over the *Thebans* and their Allies, in a great Battle that

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that was fought at *Coronea*; and of which *Xenophon*, who was present in it, has left us a particular Relation in his Book intituled, *De Agesilao Rege*.

Plutarch says, That Prince had a great Value for him: *Æmilius Probus*, that he conversed intimately with him; *Laertius*, that he loved him εἰς ὑπερβολήν, beyond Belief; and *Cicero*, that he consulted with him, and took his Advice in all his Affairs. But what some affirm, that *Agesilaus* sent for him to *Sparta*, to educate and instruct his Sons, is neither true, nor confirmed by the Testimony of any of the Antients. The Assertors of this Opinion, alledge *Plutarch* for it, in the Life of *Agesilaus*; but the Mistake proceeds from the *Latin* Version of that Author, and whoever will diligently consider the Original Text, will find, that what *Plutarch* there says, is only this, That *Xenophon* sent for his own Sons to *Lacedæmon*, to be educated there; and that he did this at the Persuasion of *Agesilaus*, who had assured him, that they would there learn the most excellent of all Arts, to obey and command. This is the true Meaning of the Words of *Plutarch*, and what *Diogenes* says in the Life of our *Xenophon*, confirms it to be so; for he there expressly asserts, on the Authority of *Diocles*, That the Sons of *Xenophon* were educated at *Sparta* in the Discipline of the *Lacedæmonians*. This shews the Error of *Stanley*, who alledges *Plutarch*'s Testimony, That by the Advice of *Xenophon*, *Agesilaus* sent his own Sons to be brought up at *Sparta*, *&c.* which is directly the contrary of what that Author says.

Now during the Absence of *Xenophon* out of his own Country, the *Athenians* proclaimed a Decree of Banishment against him, because he had served against the King of *Persia*, who was in Alliance with their Republick, and had taken part with *Cyrus*, whom they regarded as their Enemy, because he had assisted the *Lacedæmonians* in the *Peloponnesian* War, supplying

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ſupplying their General *Lyſander* with Money to fit out a Navy: But *Laertius*, who places this Decree in the third Year of the 96th Olympiad, ſays, that he was baniſhed for embracing the Party of the *Lacedæmonians*, and going to *Ageſilaus*. And indeed, as to the Time of his Baniſhment, this Account ſeems moſt likely to be true: His going firſt to *Cyrus*, then to *Ageſilaus*, both of them Enemies to the *Athenians*, might alike contribute to the Occaſion of it, and draw upon him this heavy Mark of Indignation from the Government of his own Country: But it is highly improbable, that if he had been baniſhed before he took the Troops from *Seuthes* to deliver them to *Thimbro*, he himſelf could have been ignorant of it; at leaſt, when he writ the Hiſtory of the Expedition of *Cyrus*, which was not till ſeveral Years after, he muſt have known the Time when that Sentence was decreed againſt him: And yet he there ſays expreſly, That after he had with much Difficulty obtained from *Seuthes* ſome of the Arrears due to the Army, he would not concern himſelf in the Diſtribution of it; but prepared himſelf openly to return Home; *for he was not yet baniſhed from* Athens. Theſe were his very Words, Ξενοφῶν δὲ οὐ προσήει, ἀλλὰ φανερὸς ἦν ὁικαδε παρασκευαζόμενος, ἐ γάρ πω ψῆφος αὐτῶ ἐπῆλο Αθηνήσι περὶ φυγῆς. *De Expedit. Cyr.* lib. 7. And this diſcovers another Miſtake of *Stanley*, who alledges this very Paſſage to prove, that the Decree of Baniſhment was awarded againſt him before his firſt Return out of *Aſia*, and conſequently before he went to *Ageſilaus*: *For*, ſays he, *the Author of the Hiſtory of the Expedition of* Cyrus, *affirms, that before the Delivery of the Army to* Thimbro, Xenophon, *ignorant of this Decree, intended to have gone Home*: Which neceſſarily implies there was then ſuch a Decree, though that Author, as he calls him, poſitively aſ-

Stanley in the Life of Xenophon.

ſerts,

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ſerts, there was not. But Men, who are contented to ſee with other Eyes than their own, frequently fall into ſuch Errors.

It has been already ſaid, That the *Greeks* in their Retreat, when they came to *Ceraſus*, ſold the Slaves they had taken, and conſigned the tenth Part of the Money into the Hands of their Generals, to be conſecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*. Now *Xenophon* made an Offering of one Part of his to *Apollo*, and inſcribing on it his own Name and that of *Proxenus*, ſent it to the Temple of that God at *Delphi*, where it was depoſited in the Treaſure of the *Athenians*, and in his Return out of *Aſia* with *Ageſilaus*, conſidering the Danger of the War, into which he was going to engage, he left the Part of *Diana* in the Hands of *Megabyzus*, Overſeer of the Temple of *Epheſus*; he directed him however, that if he eſcaped the Peril of the War, he ſhould return it to him again; if not, that with it he ſhould make an Offering to that Goddeſs, ſuch as he judged would be moſt acceptable to her.

* The Greek was the Word νεωκόρος.

Now after the Battle of *Coronea*, *Xenophon* being baniſhed from *Athens*, retired to *Scyllus* with his two Sons, *Gryllus* and *Diodorus*. *Suidas* mentions likewiſe his Wife *Phileſia*, the Mother of thoſe Sons; but who ſhe was is not ſaid: However, we may reaſonably conjecture, that he marryed her in his Youth at *Athens*, becauſe his Sons were already grown up to Man's Eſtate. *Pauſanias* ſays, That the *Lacedæmonians* took *Scyllus* from the *Eleans*, and gave it to *Xenophon*, in Reward of the Services he had done them, and of his Sufferings upon their Account: But others, that they gave him only a Houſe, and a conſiderable Quantity of Land belonging to it.

Scyllus

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Scyllus was near *Olympia*, where *Megabyzus*, coming to see the Games, restored to *Xenophon* the Money he had left in his Custody. With this he bought a Piece of Land for *Diana* at a Place the Oracle of *Delphi*, by whose Advice he did so, had prescribed him; and through which ran Sellenus. a little River of the same Name with that which washes the Walls of the Temple at *Ephesus*. With the Remainder of the Money he built a little Temple, and consecrated it to the Goddess: In it he erected an Altar, upon which he Yearly sacrificed the Tythe of the Revenue. This Place was about two Miles distant from the Temple of *Jupiter* in the High-way that leads from *Lacedæmon* to the City of *Olympia*. Around the Temple was a Plantation full of all Sorts of Fruits, which *Xenophon* had planted with his own Hands; and this was surrounded by a Forest, and a Mountain covered with Woods, in which were nourished all Sorts of Cattle. The Temple itself, though less in Form, yet with equal Grace, was imitative of that in *Ephesus*: The Statue too was made after the Model of the other, but of Cypress, not of Gold. There was a Pillar near the Temple with this Inscription:

ΙΕΡΟΣ Ο ΧΩΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ
ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΠΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ
ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ
ΚΑΤΑΔΥΕΙΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ
ΕΚ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΤΤΟΥ
ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΕΥΑΖΕΙΝ
ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΜΗ ΠΟΙΗ ΤΑΥΤΑ
ΤΗ ΘΕΩ ΜΕΛΗΣΕΙ.

Place consecrated to Diana. *He who possesses it shall offer the Tythe of the Revenue to the Goddess, and imploy the Remainder to keep the Temple in Repair. If he fail to do so, the Goddess will be sure to revenge herself.*

In

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In this pleasant Retirement *Xenophon* passed several Years in the Study of Philosophy, composing several Treatises of Morals and Politicks, together with the History of his own Country, and diverting himself in the Conversation of his Friends, and in the Sports of Hunting. There is still extant an Epistle in which he invites all his Friends in general to assist at the Celebration of his Annual Festival. It seems to be a kind of Circular Letter; and because it may serve as an Authentick Testimony of his singular Piety, Gratitude and Devotion to the Gods, it may not be amiss to transcribe the chief Contents, which are conceived in Words to the following Purpose:

Intending to celebrate the Festival of *Diana*, to whom we have erected a Temple, we write this to invite you to the Solemnity: If all of you would come, it will rejoice us exceedingly; at least, come as many of you as can, to assist at our Sacrifice. *Aristippus* has been here already, and so too has *Phædon*, who were both of them much delighted with the Situation and the Structure, but above all, with the Plantation, which I have made with my own Hands. The Place abounds with wild Beasts, which renders it proper for Hunting, in which that Goddess delights. Let us then rejoice together, and return Thanks to the Deity, who preserved me from the King of the Barbarians; and afterwards in *Pontus*, and in *Thrace*, from greater Dangers, even when we well hoped we were out of the Enemy's Reach, *&c.* Epist. Socratic. 20.

At length a War breaking out between the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, they first attacked *Scyllus* and took it, before the last could come to its Relief. *Xenophon* was forced to fly from his beloved Abode, and with great Difficulty escaped to *Lepræum*, together with his Sons and Family, and from thence they

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they went to *Corinth*, where he ſpent the Remainder of his Days.

Mean while the *Athenians* having by a publick Decree, of which *Xenophon* takes Notice in the laſt Book of his *Greek* Hiſtory, reſolved to ſend Succours to the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Empire the *Argives* and the *Arcadians*, in Conjunction with the *Thebans*, had well nigh overthrown, he ſent his Sons *Gryllus* and *Diodorus* to *Athens* to ſerve in that Expedition. The War ended in a great Battle, in which they both were, and that was fought at *Mantinea*, the ſecond Year of the Hundred and fourth Olympiad: *Diodorus* came off ſafe without acting any Thing remarkable; and had afterwards a Son of his Brother's Name. But after the *Thebans* had, by the Conduct and Bravery of their General *Epimanondas*, got the better of the Day, a reſolute Band of *Spartan* Horſe broke in upon them; and among theſe was *Gryllus*, who ſlew *Epimanondas* with his own Hands; but was himſelf killed in the Action. This is atteſted by *Pauſanias*, who cites both the *Athenians* and *Thebans* for the Truth of it; adding, that he had ſeen at *Athens* a Picture of the Battle of *Mantinea*, where this Action of *Gryllus* was repreſented; and that his Statue on Horſeback was erected at *Mantinea*. *Ariſtotle*, as cited by *Laertius*, ſays, That many Epitaphs were written upon him, by Perſons, who, by that Means, intended to make their Court to *Xenophon*: From whence it may be conjectured, in how great Eſteem he was.

Laert. Ælian. lib. 3. Var Hiſt. cap. 3. Hieron Epitaph Nepot. ad Heliad. and Stob. Sermon. 106.

The News of his Son's Death was brought to him as he was Sacrificing at *Corinth*: Upon hearing it, he took the Garland off his Head, and aſked, How he died? But being told the Manner of his Death, he put it on again, and continued the

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the Sacrifice. Nay *Valerius Maximus* tells us, That he called the Gods to whom he was Sacrificing to witneſs, that the Bravery of his Son, and the Manner of his dying, gave him more Satisfaction, than his Death itſelf did Sorrow. And this is in ſome Meaſure confirmed by himſelf, when writing of it to *Sotira*, he ſays: Lib. 5. cap. 10.

It is not well to grieve much for the Dead; for as our Birth is the Beginning of our Life, ſo Death is only the End of it; and in itſelf neither good nor ill. It happens not alike to all, for as we are ſtronger or weaker, our Years are often of a longer or ſhorter Duration; though ſometimes we haſten our Death by good, ſometimes by evil Cauſes: He is dead; and all Men, though ever ſo unwilling, muſt die. But to die well, is the Part of a generous and well educated Soul. Happy therefore is Gryllus; *and whoever elſe, like him, chuſes not the longeſt Life, but the moſt virtuous; though his, it pleaſed God, was ſhort.* Stob. Serm. 278.

Athenæus ſeems to imply, that *Xenophon* was ſome Time or other of his Life with *Dionyſius*, the Tyrant of *Sicily*; for he ſays, That being at Table with him, and the Cup-Bearer preſſing him to drink more than he had a Mind to, he called to that Prince by Name: *What is the Reaſon*, ſaid he, *Dionyſius, that your Cook, who is ſo excellent in his Art, compels us not to eat likewiſe againſt our Inclination?* But it is very probable, that if he had ever been in *Sicily*, ſome one or other of the Antients, who have written of him, or even he himſelf, would have taken Notice of it, as well as *Athenæus*; and therefore we may place this Story among the many other Falſities that are delivered by that Author. DeipnoſophSaph. lib. 10.

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Xenophon, says *Laertius*, being full of Years, which, as we said before, according to *Lucian*, exceeded Ninety, died at *Corinth* in the first Year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, when *Callidemas*, or *Callimedes* was Archon of *Athens*, much about the Time when *Philip*, Son of *Amyntas*, began his Reign in *Macedonia*. As for his Person, the same *Laertius* tells us, that he was Beautiful beyond Expression; and that a singular Mildness, Modesty, and Ingenuity appeared in his Looks; he wore his Hair very long as *Chio* the Philosopher witnesses. He took great Delight in Horses, and in Hunting: *Xenophon*, says *Eunapius*, was the only Man of all the Philosophers, who adorned Philosophy with his Words and Actions, both of which are one continued Exhortation to Honour and Virtue: He was a Man every way accomplished, either for Action or Contemplation. He was a Christian, who lived five hundred Years before Christianity: Religious, even to a Scruple, refusing the general Command of the Army, only because the Sacrifices did not seem to encourage and approve his Acceptance of it. In a Word, He was in all Things an exact Imitator of the Virtues of *Socrates*, whom he honoured when living, and revered when dead: He made the Instructions, he received from him in his Youth, the Rule of all the Actions of his Life: And we have a memorable Instance of the grateful Sentiments he ever retained for that Philosopher, in the following Letter, with which I will conclude this succinct Relation of the most remarkable Adventures of the Life of *Xenophon*.

De Longæv.

In Procem.

XENOPHON

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XENOPHON to XANTIPPE.

I Delivered for you to *Euphron* of *Megara* six Measures of Meal, and Eight Drachma's in Money, together with a new Suit of Cloaths to keep you warm this Winter: I know you will accept them as a Token of my Affection to you and yours. You may be assured that *Euclides* and *Terpsion* are good honest Men, very affectionate to you, and honour very much the Memory of *Socrates*. If your Sons are desirous to come to me, hinder them not; the Journey is neither long, nor uneasy. Let me intreat you to moderate your Grief, and weep no more; it may hurt, but cannot help you. Remember what *Socrates* was wont to do and say; follow his Practice and his Precepts. Your excessive Sorrow does but wrong yourself, and prejudice your Children: Consider, they are the Children of *Socrates*; and that we are obliged not only to maintain them, but to preserve ourselves too for their Sakes; lest, if you, or I, or any other, who, now *Socrates* is no more, ought to look to his Children, should do otherwise than well, they might want a Guardian to support and protect them. I make it my Study to live for them, which you will not do long, unless you abate your unavailing Sorrow, and cherish yourself. Grief is one of the Things that are most opposite, most averse to Life; it most prejudices the Living, and shortens their Days. *Apollodorus*, the * *Silly*, and *Dion* praise you

Epist. Socratic. 21.

* The Reason of this Surname is manifest from Xenophon and Laertius, who both of them describe him as such. Xenophon, particularly in the Apology for Socrates, says expressly, that he was weak and foolish in all Things but his Affection to Socrates: Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἀνὴρ θυμικὸς μὲν ἰσχυρῶς αὐτῷ (of Socrates) ἄλλως δὲ ἰσθμός. Therefore Leo Allatius is in the Wrong to perplex himself at the Rate he does, about this Appellation.

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you for not accepting any Thing from any Man, and for profeſſing you are Rich enough and want it not: It is well done, *Xantippe*; and depend upon it, that as long as I, or any other Friends of *Socrates* are able to maintain you, you ſhall need none beſides. Then be of good cheer, and comfort yourſelf: Behave yourſelf worthy of *Socrates*, and knowing, as you do, how great a Man he was, think upon his Life, and ſtrive to forget his Death: tho' even that too, to ſuch as conſider it aright, will appear moſt Glorious and Excellent.

Farewel.

Of the Writings of XENOPHON.

IT is not from Arms alone that *Xenophon* derives that Renown, which he has enjoyed for ſo many Ages: Philoſophy and Hiſtory likewiſe have ſtriven in Emulation to each other to render him glorious. And, in my Opinion, we may upon theſe three Accounts juſtly give him the Name of *Triſmegiſtus*, as well as to that *Hermes* the *Egyptian*, ſince he is univerſally acknowledged for a very great Philoſopher, a very great General, and a very great Hiſtorian. The two laſt Endowments he holds in common with *Cæſar*; nor are they miſtaken, who diſcover a third Reſemblance in their Style; Purity, Elegance, and ſmoothneſs of Diction being alike Natural both to the one and the other. They have both of them an agreeable Way of expreſſing themſelves without Art or Affectation, and which no Sort of Art or Affectation can equal. But the Appellation of *Attic* Bee and *Attic* Muſe, with which all the Antients have honoured *Xenophon*, is not only an Evidence of the Beauty of his Language, and to ſpeak of it in Terms of *Quintilian*, of that Sweetneſs of Honey, which the Graces have been pleaſed with their own Hands to ſprinkle all over his Writings; but a particular

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ticular Mark likewiſe of his *Attic* Dialect, in which he was ſo excellent, that *Diogenes Laertius*, writing his Life, gives no other Reaſon of the Miſintelligence that was between *Plato* and him, than only the Jealouſy that aroſe between them upon that Account. Nevertheleſs, when *Marcellinus* aſcribes to *Thucydides*, in his Elogy, the ſublime Manner of Diction, he allows only the loweſt Sort to *Xenophon*, placing *Herodotus* between both. And when *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* obſerves, That *Xenophon* has often imitated *Herodotus*; he adds, that the firſt of them always falls much ſhort of the other.

Cicero however ſays, that his Language is ſweeter than Honey, alluding perhaps to what *Homer* ſays of *Neſtor*; and that the *Muſes* themſelves ſeem to have ſpoken by the Mouth of *Xenophon*.

Xenophontis ſermo eſt quidem melle dulcior. *in Oratore.* Xenophontis voce Muſas quaſi locutas eſſe: *Idem in Oratore.*

But be that as it will, it is a Thing very conſiderable, That *Xenophon* was the firſt of all the Philoſophers who applyed himſelf to compoſe a Hiſtory. And as to his Hiſtory, which concerns the Affairs of the *Greeks*, it relates their Actions during the Space of Eight and Forty Years, and begins where *Thucydides* had left off, ſhewing us at firſt *Alcibiades* returned into his own Country, whom *Thucydides* in his laſt Book, had left contriving that Return. Nor is it a ſmall Glory to *Xenophon*, nor a common Inſtance of Probity, that he has frankly and generouſly given to the Publick the Works of *Thucydides*, which all agree he might have ſuppreſſed, or even appropriated to himſelf, if he would have been a Plagiary, and ſo baſe as to have aſcribed to himſelf the Labours of another, as many others have done, and continue to do every Day. *Theopompus* likewiſe continued the Hiſtory of *Thucydides*; but brought it no lower than

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to Sixteen Years from the Time where that Hiſtorian left off.

Beſides the Continuation of the Hiſtory begun by *Thucydides*, *Xenophon* has left us that of the Enterprize of the Younger *Cyrus* againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*, and of that Memorable Retreat of the Ten Thouſand *Greeks* from the remoteſt Parts of *Perſia* into their own Country; of which the whole Honour is almoſt due to himſelf, as well in Regard to the Advice and good Conduct, as in Relation to the Command of the Enterprize. This Hiſtory is written in ſuch a Manner, that nothing is more exact, more delightful, or more faithful: The Exactitude is ſo great, that the Author deſcends even to the leaſt Particulars, inſomuch that a Man would think he is not reading a Hiſtory, but rather going a Journey, where he reckons up all the Inns he has lain in, all the Places where he has baited by the Way; which made a great * Conqueror ſay, that he knew no Hiſtorian but *Xenophon*. An agreeable Gracefulneſs appears throughout the whole Relation; but is chiefly ſeen in this, That he relates ordinary Events in an extraordinary Manner; and, as I may ſay, makes the moſt of the Mind of his Reader, who is not diſtaſted with the Recital of Things of ſmall Conſequence; and finds Satisfaction and Delight in the Affairs of greater Importance. As to the Truth of it, it ſhines in every Page, and I may affirm, that in all Antiquity there is not any Hiſtory more Authentick, tho' there be few more Antient; for what Hiſtorian have we before *Xenophon*, to whom we can give Credit, except *Thucydides*? Beſides, in this Part of his Writings, he ſpeaks only of the Things he did himſelf, and of which he was an Eye-witneſs: There is not any more noble Panegyrick

* Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sweden.

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gyrick of Great Men, than their Actions: And in this Work he has compoſed his own Elogy; for it is not ſo much the Expedition of *Cyrus*, not ſo much the Retreat of Ten Thouſand *Greeks*, as his own; not only becauſe he always commanded the Rear, which is the moſt honourable Poſt in a Retreat; but becauſe he was the chief Cauſe of the Preſervation of the whole Army: For it was he, who raiſed up the Courage and Hopes of the Officers and Soldiers in the Conſternation they were in, after the Murder of their Generals: And this is the moſt Memorable Action of this Hiſtory, which contains not any Military Exploits very remarkable, and its greateſt Glory conſiſts in this Reſolution. Thus he is not only the Author, but the Hero of this Work; which juſtly deſerves the Name of the true Romance, as well for the Beauty, as the Fidelity of its Adventures: Beſides, that it has this in common with other Romances, that the chief Perſon is not Happy till the laſt Sheet. *Maſius* ſuſpects that *Xenophon* was not the Author of this Hiſtory; and the Biſhop of *Armagh* aſcribes it to *Themiſtogenes:* But *Plutarch*, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Athenæus*, *Hermogenes*, *Cicero*, *&c.* all of them agree, that *Xenophon* was the Author of it.

As to what he has written of the Inſtitution of *Cyrus* the Elder, it is not to be deemed a Hiſtory, but a Work merely Moral, where he has repreſented to us the Image of a Great Prince, without having any Regard to the Truth of the Events, except only of two or three of them, as the taking of *Babylon*, and the Captivity of *Crœſus*. All the reſt is invented at Pleaſure, and is moſt to be valued on Account of the Agreeableneſs of the Fable, as *Hermogenes* (or, as others ſay, and perhaps too with greater Reaſon, *Ariſtides*, *Adryanenſis*) has very well obſerved

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ſerved, ſpeaking of the Death of *Panthea*, who with three Eunuchs, killed herſelf on the dead Body of her Huſband *Abradatas*, as we find in the ſeventh Book of the *Inſtitution of* Cyrus. *Cicero* too is of the ſame Opinion, and ſays, it is written, *Non ad hiſtoriæ fidem, ſed ad Effigiem juſti imperij:* But *Diodorus Siculus* ſeems to take it otherwiſe, allowing the Narration to be literally true.

Moreover, all theſe Compoſitions of *Xenophon*, of which we have been ſpeaking, are ſuch, that beſides that they may ſerve as Rules and Maxims to the chief Miniſters of State in all Affairs, and through the whole Extent of Politicks, according to the Judgment that *Dion Chryſoſtome* has given of them; they are farther capable to form great Captains, and to give to the World Generals of Armies. Of this we have two remarkable Examples among the *Romans:* For have they not acknowledged themſelves, That their great *Scipio*, ſirnamed *Africanus*, had the Works of *Xenophon* almoſt continually in his Hands? And that nothing rendered *Lucullus* capable to oppoſe, and make Head againſt that formidable Enemy, King *Mithridates*, but the reading of this Author, by which he ſo much improved himſelf while he was at Sea, who till then had but little Knowledge in the Affairs of War, that he knew enough of it afterwards to gain the glorious Victories that all Men know, and to render Tributary to the *Romans* the moſt conſiderable Provinces of *Aſia*.

Orat. 38.

Cicero. 2. Tuſcul. Quæſt.

Xenophon has written likewiſe the Memorable Things of *Socrates*, of which we have ſpoken at large in the Preface; and on ſeveral other Subjects; and there ſeems in many of them to have been a great Jealouſy and Emulation between him and *Plato*.

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Plato. For, the one and the other have compoſed an Apology of *Socrates*, a *Banquet*, and ſome other Treatiſes of Morals and Politicks, according to the Obſervation of *Diogenes* in the Life of *Plato*, without having ever reciprocally named each other with Praiſe or Commendation, whatever Occaſions offered, among the many Converſations they relate of the common Preceptor with his Diſciples: Nay, it is believed that *Xenophon* has painted in ſo lively Colours the Faults of one *Menon* a *Theſſalian*, towards the End of the ſecond Book of the Expedition of *Cyrus*, only becauſe of the Friendſhip there was between this *Menon* and *Plato*. But of this and the other Miſunderſtandings that happened among the Diſciples of *Socrates* after his Death, has been ſpoken at large in the Life of *Socrates*, Page 100. *&* *ſeq.* whither we refer the Reader.

As to the Style of *Xenophon* in general, you may conſult the abovementioned *Hermogenes* (or rather, as we ſaid before, *Ariſtides Adryanenſis* in his Two Books, intitled, the one *De Simplici*, the other *De Civili Oratione*) who commends it moſt of all for a certain Sweetneſs, Naturalneſs, or Simplicity, as he calls it, and which that Rhetorician, whoever he were, holds to be one of the chief Ornaments of Language. Accordingly, he prefers *Xenophon* much before *Plato* upon that Account.

The END.

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THE

Memorable Things

OF

SOCRATES.

BOOK I.

I Have often wondered by what Arguments the Accusers of *Socrates* could prevail with the *Athenians* to believe, that he deserved to die: For their Accusation against him runs thus: "*Socrates* is Criminal, because he acknowledges not the "Gods whom the Republick acknowledges; because he introduces new Deities; he is likewise Criminal, because he corrupts the Youth. But what Proof had they to justify that he acknowledged not the Gods of the Republick, since he was often seen to Sacrifice in his own House, and in the Temples; besides, it could not be doubted but that he believed in Divination, and practised that Belief;

Heads of the Accusation against Socrates.

Refutation of the first.

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Belief; for it is well known, that *Socrates* declared, that he received Counſel and Advice from a certain Dæmon? This, in my Opinion, was what gave them Ground to alledge againſt him, That he deſigned to introduce new Gods: Though indeed he broached no newer Doctrine than they, who, believing in Divination, obſerve the Flight of Birds and Omens, remark accidental Occurrences, and conſult the Entrails of Victims: For they do not therefore believe that thoſe Birds, nor the Perſons they meet by chance, know their good or ill Fortune; but that the Gods make Uſe of theſe Means to point out to them what will happen; and ſuch was the Belief of *Socrates*; though indeed the common People imagine the very Birds and Things, which preſent themſelves to them, diſſwade them from what is Hurtful, and excite them to what is Good: As for him, he freely owned that a Dæmon was his Monitor; and he ſeveral Times gave his Friends Notice of what they ought or ought not to do, according to the Inſtructions he had received from his Dæmon; and they who believed him, and followed his Advice, always found Advantage by it; as on the contrary, they who neglected his Admonitions, never failed to repent their Incredulity. Now it cannot be denied but that he ought to have taken Care not to paſs with his Friends, for a Man given either to Lying or Boaſting; and yet how could he avoid incurring that Cenſure, if the Events had not juſtified the Truth of the Things he pretended were revealed to him. It is therefore manifeſt, that he would not have ſpoken of Things to come, if he had not been perſwaded he ſpoke true: But how could

He makes uſe of Divinations.

Dæmon, or familiar Spirit of Socrates.

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God alone to be believed in future Things.

could he believe he ſpoke true, unleſs he believed that the Gods, who alone ought to be truſted for the Knowledge of Things to come, gave him Notice of them? and if he believed they did ſo, how can it be ſaid that he did not acknolewdge the Gods.

He likewiſe adviſed his Friends to do in the beſt Manner they could, the Things that of Neceſſity they were to do; but as to thoſe whoſe Events were doubtful, he ſent them to the Oracles, to know whether they ſhould engage in them or not: And he ſaid, That they who deſign to govern, with Succeſs, their Families or whole Cities, had great Need of receiving Inſtructions by the Help of Divinations, for tho' he indeed held that every Man may make Choice of the Condition of Life in which he deſires to live, and that by his Induſtry he may render himſelf excellent in it, whether he apply himſelf to Architecture, or to Agriculture; whether he throw himſelf into Politicks or Œconomy; whether he engage himſelf in the publick Revenues, or in the Army; but that in all theſe Things the Gods have reſerved to themſelves the moſt important Events, into which Men, of themſelves, can in no wiſe penetrate. Thus he who makes a fine Plantation of Trees, knows not who ſhall gather the Fruit: He who builds a Houſe, knows not who ſhall inhabit it: A General is not certain that he ſhall be ſucceſsful in his Command, nor a Miniſter of State in his Miniſtry: He who marries a beautiful Woman in Hopes of being happy with her, knows not but that even ſhe herſelf may be the Cauſe of Uneaſineſſes; and he who admits of Men of Power to aſſiſt him

To this Purpoſe may be alledged the Example of *Xenophon* himſelf. *See that Author in the 3d Book of the Expedition of* Cyrus, *and* Cicero, lib. 1. de Divinat.

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him in the Adminiſtration of public Affairs, knows not but thoſe Perſons may be the Means of depriving him of his Poſt. This made him frequently ſay, that it is a great Folly to imagine there is not a Divine Providence, that preſides over theſe Things, and that they intirely depend on human Prudence. He likewiſe held it to be a Weakneſs, to importune the Gods with Queſtions, which we may reſolve by thoſe Faculties with which the Gods have endowed us; as if we ſhould aſk them, whether it be better to take a Coachman who knows how to drive, than one who knows nothing of the Matter? Whether it be better to take an experienced Pilot, than one that is ignorant? In a Word, he affirmed it to be a Kind of Impiety to conſult the Oracles concerning what might be numbered, or meaſured, or weighed, becauſe we ought to learn the Things which the Gods have been pleaſed to capacitate us to know: But that we ought to have recourſe to the Oracles, to be inſtructed in thoſe that ſurpaſs our Knowledge, becauſe the Gods are wont to diſcover them to ſuch Men as have rendered them propitious to themſelves.

Socrates was very little at Home. In the Morning he went to the Places appointed for Walking, and publick Exerciſes: He never failed to be at the Hall, or Courts of Juſtice, at the uſual Hour of aſſembling there: And the reſt of the Day he was at the Places where was the greateſt Reſort of Company. There he diſcourſed for the moſt Part, and whoever would hear him, eaſily might: And yet no Man ever obſerved the leaſt Impiety or Irreligion either in his Actions or in his Words. Nor did he amuſe himſelf as moſt other Philoſophers with reaſoning of the Secrets of Nature, or ſearching into the Manner of the Creation of what the Sophiſts call the World, or diving into the Cauſe of the Motions of the Heavens: On the contrary.

How Socrates ſpent his Time.

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trary, he expoſed the Folly of ſuch as give themſelves up to theſe Contemplations. And he aſked them, if, after having acquired a perfect Knowledge of Human Things, they undertook to ſearch into Divine; or if they thought themſelves very wiſe in neglecting what immediately concerned them, to buſy themſelves in Things above them? He was aſtoniſhed likewiſe that they did not perceive the Impoſſibility of comprehending any thing of all thoſe Wonders, ſeeing they who have the Reputation of being moſt knowing in them, are of quite different Opinions, and treat each other as Fools and Madmen. For as ſome of theſe are not afraid of the moſt dangerous and frightful Accidents, while others are in dread of what is not to be feared: So likewiſe among thoſe Philoſophers, ſome are of Opinion that there is no Action but what may be done in public, nor Word, that may not freely be ſpoken before the whole World; while others, on the contrary, believe that we ought to avoid the Converſation of Men, and keep in a perpetual Solitude: Some have deſpiſed the Temples and the Altars, and have taught that Honour is not to be paid to the Gods, while others have been ſo ſuperſtitious as to worſhip Wood, Stones, and irrational Creatures. And as to the Knowledge of natural Things, ſome have confeſſed but one only Being: Others have admitted an infinite Number: Some have believed that all Things are in a perpetual Motion: Others, that nothing moves: Some have held the World to be full of continual Generations and Corruptions; others aſſure that nothing is engendered or deſtroyed. He ſaid beſides, that he ſhould be glad to know of thoſe Perſons, if they were in Hopes one Day to put in Practice what they learnt, as Men who know an Art may practiſe it when they pleaſe, either for their own Advantage, or for the Service of their Friends; or if they did imagine

Of the Study of Natural Things.

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imagine that after they had found out the Cauſes of all Things that happen, they ſhould be able to give Winds and Rains, and to diſpoſe the Times and Seaſons as they had Occaſion for them; or if they contented themſelves with the bare Knowledge, without expecting any farther Profit. This was what he ſaid of thoſe who delight in ſuch Studies. As for his Part, he meditated chiefly on what is uſeful and proper for Man, and took Delight to argue of Piety and Impiety, of Honeſty and Diſhoneſty, of Juſtice and Injuſtice, of Wiſdom and Folly, of Courage and Cowardice, of the State, and of the Qualifications of a Miniſter of State, of the Government, and of thoſe who are fit to govern: In ſhort, he enlarged on ſuch Subjects, as it becomes Men of Condition to know, and of which none but Slaves ſhould be ignorant.

Subject of the Diſcourſes of Socrates.

Moreover, it is not ſtrange that the Judges of *Socrates* miſtook his Opinion in Things concerning which he did not explain himſelf; but I am ſurprized that they did not reflect on what he had ſaid and done in the Face of the whole World: For when he was one of the Senate, and had taken the uſual Oath exactly to obſerve the Laws, being in his Turn veſted with the Dignity of *Epiſtate*, he bravely withſtood the Populace, who, againſt all Manner of Reaſon, demanded that the nine Captains, two of whom were *Eraſinides* and *Thraſilus*, ſhould be put to Death: He would never give Conſent to this Injuſtice, and was not daunted at the Rage of the People, nor at the Menaces of the Men in Power, chuſing rather not to violate the Oath he had taken, than to yield to the Violence of the Multitude, and ſhelter himſelf from the Vengeance

Socrates a Senator.

See the Life of Socrates, *where all this is explained.*

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geance of those who threatened him. To this Purpose he said, That the Gods watch over Men more attentively than the Vulgar imagine: For they believe there are some Things which the Gods observe, and others which they pass by unregarded: But he held, That the Gods observe all our Actions, and all our Words, that they dive even into our most secret Thoughts, that they are present at all our Deliberations, and that they inspire us in all our Affairs. It is astonishing therefore to consider, how the *Athenians* could suffer themselves to be persuaded, that *Socrates* had any ill Thoughts of the Deity, he who never let slip one single Word against the Respect due to the Gods, nor was ever guilty of any Action that savoured in the least of Impiety: But who, on the contrary, has done and said Things that could not proceed but from a Mind truly Pious, and that are sufficient to gain a Man an eternal Reputation of Piety and Holiness.

Refutation of the 2d Article of the Accusation, concerning the Corruptions of the Youth.

What surprizes me yet more is, That some could believe that *Socrates* was a Debaucher of young Men! *Socrates* the most sober, and most chaste of all Men, who chearfully supported both Cold and Heat; whom no Inconvenience, no Hardships nor Labours could startle, and who had learnt to wish for so little, that though he had scarce any Thing, he had always enough. Then how could he teach Impiety, Injustice, Gluttony, Impurity, and Luxury? And so far was he from doing so, that he reclaimed many Persons from those Vices, inspiring them with the love of Virtue, and putting them in Hopes of coming to Preferment in the World, provided they would take a little Care of themselves. Yet he never promised any Man to teach him to be virtuous, but as he made a publick Profession of Virtue, he created in

He does not promise to teach Virtue.

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the Minds of thoſe who frequented him, the Hopes of becoming virtuous by his Example.

He neglected not his own Body, and praiſed not thoſe that neglected theirs. In like Manner, he blamed the Cuſtom of ſome, who eat too much, and afterwards uſe violent Exerciſes: But he approved of eating till Nature be ſatisfied, and of a moderate Exerciſe after it; believing that Method to be an Advantage to Health, and proper to unbend and divert the Mind. In his Cloaths he was neither nice nor coſtly; and what I ſay of his Cloaths ought likewiſe to be underſtood of his whole Way of Living. Not one of his Friends ever became covetous by his Converſation, and he reclaimed them from that infamous Paſſion, as well as from all others; for he would accept of nothing from any who deſired to confer with him, and ſaid, That was the Way to diſcover a noble and generous Heart, and that they who take Rewards betray a Meanneſs of Soul, and ſell their own Perſons, becauſe they impoſe on themſelves a Neceſſity of Inſtructing thoſe from whom they receive a Salary. He wondered likewiſe why a Man who promiſes to teach Virtue ſhould aſk Money; as if he believed not the greateſt of all Gain to conſiſt in the Acquiſition of a good Friend, or as if he feared, that he who by his Means ſhould become virtuous, and be obliged to him for ſo great a Benefit, would not be ſufficiently grateful for it: Quite different was this from *Socrates*, who never boaſted of any ſuch Thing, and who was moſt certain, that all who heard him, and received his Maxims, would love him for ever, and be capable of loving others alſo. After this, whoſoever ſays that ſuch a Man debauched the Youth, muſt at the ſame Time ſay, That the Study of Virtue is a Debauch.

Socrates takes no Money.

But,

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That Socrates did not teach the Youth to despise the Laws.

But the Accuser says, That *Socrates* taught the Youth to despise the Constitution that was established in the Republick, because he affirmed it to be a Folly to draw Magistrates by Lots; since if any one had Occasion for a Pilot, a Musician, or an Architect, he would not trust to Chance for any such Person, though the Faults that can be committed by Men in such Capacities, are far from being of so great Importance as those that are committed in the Government of the Republick. He said therefore, that such Arguments insensibly accustomed the Youth to despise the Laws, and render them more audacious and more violent. But methinks such as study the Art of Prudence, and who believe they shall be able to render themselves capable of giving good Advice and Counsel to their Fellow Citizens, seldom become Men of violent Tempers; because they know that Violence is hateful and full of Danger; while on the contrary, to win by Persuasion is full of Love and Safety. For they, whom we have compelled, brood a secret Hatred against us, believing we have done them Wrong: But those, whom we have taken the Trouble to persuade, continue our Friends, believing we have done them a Kindness. It is not therefore they who apply themselves to the Study of Prudence, that become violent, but those brutish untractable Tempers who have much Power and but little Judgment. He farther said, That when a Man desires to carry any Thing by Force, he must have many Friends to assist him: As on the contrary, he that can persuade, has need of none but himself, and is not apt to shed Blood: For who would rather chuse to kill a Man, than to make use of his Services, after having gained his Friendship and Good-will by Mildness?

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The Accuſer adds, in Proof of the ill Doctrine of *Socrates*, that *Critias* and *Alcibiades*, who were two of his moſt intimate Friends, were very ill Men, and did much Miſchief to their Country. For *Critias* was the moſt inſatiable and cruel of all the Thirty Tyrants; and *Alcibiades* the moſt diſſolute, the moſt inſolent, and the moſt audacious Citizen that ever the Republick had. As for me, I pretend not to juſtify them; and will only relate in what Manner they frequented *Socrates*. They were Men of an unbounded Ambition, and who reſolved, whatever it coſt, to govern the State, and make themſelves be talked of. They had heard that *Socrates* lived very content upon little or nothing, that he intirely commanded his Paſſions, and that his Reaſonings were ſo perſuaſive, that he drew all Men to which Side he pleaſed. Reflecting on this, and being of the Temper we mentioned, can it be thought that they deſired the Acquaintance of *Socrates*, becauſe they were in Love with his Way of Life; and with his Temperance, or becauſe they believed that by converſing with him they ſhould render themſelves capable of Reaſoning aright, and of well-managing the publick Affairs. For my Part, I believe, that if the Gods had propoſed to them to live always like him, or to die immediately, they would rather have choſen a ſudden Death. And it is eaſy to judge this from their Actions: For as ſoon as they thought themſelves more capable than their Companions, they forſook *Socrates*, whom they had frequented, only for the Purpoſe I mentioned, and threw themſelves wholly into Buſineſs.

Critias and Alcibiades Friends of Socrates.

Why they frequented Socrates.

It may, perhaps, be objected, that he ought not to have diſcourſed to his Friends of Things relating to the Government of the State, till after he had taught

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taught them to live virtuously. I have nothing to say to this; but I see that all who teach, do generally two Things: They make their own Behaviour a Pattern to their Scholars, and they instruct them likewise by Word of Mouth: Now in either of these two Ways, no Man ever taught to Live well, like *Socrates*; for his whole Life was as an Example of incomparable Probity; and in his Discourses he spoke of Virtue, and of all the Duties of Man, in a Manner that made him admired by all his Hearers. And I know too very well, that *Critias* and *Alcibiades* lived very virtuously as long as they frequented him: Not that they were afraid of him, but because they thought it most conducive to their Designs to live so at that Time.

Critias and Alcibiades were Virtuous for some time.

Many who pretend to Philosophy, will here object, That a virtuous Person is always virtuous, and that when a Man hath once arrived to be good and temperate, he will never afterwards become wicked or dissolute; because Habitudes that can be acquired, when once they are so, can never more be effaced from the Mind. But I am not of this Opinion: For as they who use no bodily Exercises, are aukward and unwieldy in the Actions of the Body; so they who exercise not their Minds, are incapable of the noble Actions of the Mind, and have not Courage enough to undertake any Thing worthy of Praise, nor Command enough over themselves to abstain from Things that are forbidden. For this Reason, Parents, though they be well enough assured of the good natural Disposition of their Children, fail not to forbid them the Conversation of the Vicious, because it is the Ruin of Praise-worthy Inclinations; whereas the Conversation

It does not follow that a Man who has been once virtuous, must continue so for ever.

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tion of good Men is a continual Meditation of Virtue. Thus the Poet *Theognis* says,

By those whom we frequent, we're ever led:
Example is a Law by all obey'd:
Thus with the Good, we are to Good inclin'd,
But vicious Company corrupts the Mind.

And another in like Manner:

Virtue and Vice in the same Man are found,
And now they gain, and now they lose their Ground.

And, in my Opinion, they are in the right; for when I consider, that they who have learnt Verses by Heart forget them, unless they repeat them often: So I believe, that they who neglect the Reasonings of Philosophers, insensibly lose the Remembrance of them; and when they have let these excellent Notions vanish out of their Minds, they at the same Time lose the Idea of the Things that supported in the Soul, the Love of Temperance: And having forgot those Things, what Wonder is it, if at length they forget Temperance likewise? I observe besides, that Men who abandon themselves to the Debauches of Wine or of Women, find it more difficult to apply themselves to Things that are profitable, and to abstain from what is hurtful. For many who live frugally before they fall in Love, become prodigal when that Passion gets the Predominance over them; insomuch, that after having wasted their Estates, they are reduced to gain their Bread by Methods they would have been ashamed of before. What hinders then, but that a Man who has been once Temperate, should cease to be such, and that he who has led a good Life at one Time, should not do so at another? Methinks therefore all Virtues, and chiefly Temperance, depend on the Practice of them: For Lust, that dwells in the same Body

Virtue requires a continual Exercise.

Source of the Debauches of Critias and Alcibiades.

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Body with the Soul, incites it continually to despise this Virtue, and to find out the shortest Way to gratify the Senses only. Thus, whilst *Alcibiades* and *Critias* conversed with *Socrates*, they were able, with so great an Assistance, to tame their evil Inclinations; but after they had left him, *Critias*, being retired into *Thessalia*, ruined himself intirely in the Company of some Libertines; and *Alcibiades*, seeing himself courted by several Women of Quality, because of his Beauty, and suffering himself to be corrupted by soothing Flatterers, who made their Court to him, in Consideration of the Credit he had in the City and with the Allies; in a Word, finding himself respected by all the *Athenians*, and that no Man disputed the first Rank with him, began to neglect himself, like a great Wrestler, who takes not the Trouble to exercise himself, when he no longer finds an Adversary who dares to contend with him. If we would examine therefore all that has happened to them: If we consider how much the Greatness of their Birth, their Interest, and their Riches had puffed up their Minds; if we reflect on the ill Company they fell into; and the many Opportunities they had of debauching themselves; can we be surprized, that after they had been so long absent from *Socrates*, they arrived at length to that Height of Insolence, to which they have been seen to arise: If they have been guilty of Crimes, the Accuser will load *Socrates* with them, and not allow him to be worthy of Praise, for having kept them within the Bounds of their Duty, during their Youth, when in all Appearance they would have been the most disorderly, and least governable: This nevertheless is not the Way we judge of other Things: For who ever pretended that a Musician, a Player on the Lute, or any Person that teaches any other Art, after he has made a good Scholar,

Socrates not answerable for the Actions of Critias and Alcibiades.

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Scholar, ought to be blamed for his Misbehaviour under the Care of another Master? If a young Man gets an Acquaintance that brings him into Debauchery, ought his Father to lay the Blame on the first Friends of his Son, among whom he always lived virtuously? Is it not true on the contrary, that the more he finds that this last Friendship proves destructive to him, the more Reason he will have to praise his former Acquaintance? And are the Fathers themselves, who are daily with their Children, guilty of their Faults, if they give them no ill Example? Thus they ought to have judged of *Socrates*; if he led an ill Life, it was reasonable to esteem him vicious; but if a good, was it just to accuse him of Crimes, of which he was innocent?

Socrates blames, severely, the Impurity of Critias, who takes Offence at it.

And yet he might have been accused with Reason, had he but approved the Vices, from which himself was free: But he never fell into so base a Complacency; and perceiving once that *Critias* was fallen in Love with *Euthydemus*, and endeavoured to obtain of him the last Favour after which the Voluptuous seek, he tryed immediately to dissuade him from his Design, representing to him, that it was unworthy of a noble Mind, or of a Man of Honour, to importune incessantly him whose Esteem he would gain, and to become a Beggar to him, to obtain a Thing that is not honest. And *Critias* neglecting this gentle Chastisement, it is reported that *Socrates*, in the Presence of several Peasons, and even of *Euthydemus* himself, said, That *Critias* had a swinish Itch, and wanted to rub himself on *Euthydemus*, as Hogs are wont to rub themselves against Stones: From which Moment *Critias* always bore him a Grudge, and during

Critias endeavours to prejudice Socrates.

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the Tyranny of the Thirty, of which he was one, when, together with *Charicles*, he had the Care of the Civil Government of the City, he failed not to remember this Affront, and, in Revenge of it, made a Law to forbid teaching the Art of Reaſoning in *Athens:* And having nothing to reproach *Socrates* with in particular, he laboured to render him odious, by aſperſing him with the uſual Calumnies that are thrown on all Philoſophers: For I have never heard *Socrates* ſay, That he taught this Art, nor ſeen any Man who ever heard him ſay ſo; but *Critias* had taken Offence, and gave ſufficient Proofs of it: For after the Thirty had cauſed to be put to Death a great Number of the Citizens, and even of the moſt Eminent; and had let looſe the Reins to all Sorts of Violences and Rapines,

Socrates ſpeaks againſt the Injuſtice of the Government.

Socrates ſaid in a certain Place, That he wondered very much that a Man who keeps a Herd of Cattel, and by his ill Conduct loſes every Day ſome of them, and ſuffers the others to fall away, would not own himſelf to be a very ill Keeper of his Herd: And that he ſhould wonder yet more, if a Miniſter of State, who leſſens every Day the Number of his Citizens, and makes the others more diſſolute, was not aſhamed of his Miniſtry, and would not confeſs himſelf to be an ill Magiſtrate.

He is forbid to diſcourſe with the Youth.

This was reported to *Critias* and *Charicles*, who forthwith ſent for *Socrates*, and ſhewing him the Law they had made, forbid him to diſcourſe with the young Men. Upon which *Socrates* aſked them, if they would permit him to propoſe a Queſtion, that he might be informed of what he did not underſtand in this Prohibition: And his Requeſt being granted, he ſpoke in this Manner. I am moſt ready to obey your Laws; but

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but that I may not tranſgreſs through Ignorance, I deſire to know of you, whether you condemn the Art of Reaſoning, becauſe you believe it conſiſts in ſaying Things well, or in ſaying them ill? If it be becauſe it conſiſts in ſaying them well, we muſt then from henceforward abſtain from ſpeaking as we ought: If it be becauſe it teaches to ſay Things amiſs, it is plain that we ought to endeavour to ſpeak well. At theſe Words *Charicles* flew into a Paſſion, and ſaid to him: Since you pretend to be ignorant of Things that are ſo eaſily known, we forbid you to ſpeak to the young Men in any Manner whatever. 'Tis enough, anſwered *Socrates*, but that I may not be in a perpetual Uncertainty, pray preſcribe to me, 'till what Age Men are young: 'Till they are capable of being Members of the Senate, ſaid *Charicles:* In a Word, ſpeak to no Man under thirty Years of Age. How! ſays *Socrates*, if I would buy any Thing of a Tradeſman who is not thirty Years old, am I forbid to aſk him the Price of it? I mean not ſo, anſwered *Charicles*, but I am not ſurprized that you aſk me this Queſtion, for it is your Cuſtom to aſk many Things, that you know very well. *Socrates* added: And if a young Man aſks me in the Street, where *Charicles* lodges, or if I know where *Critias* is, muſt I make him no Anſwer? I mean not ſo neither, anſwered *Charicles*. Here *Critias*, interrupting their Diſcourſe, ſaid: For the future, *Socrates*, thou muſt have nothing to do with the many poor Handicrafts-men, the many Shoe-makers, Maſons, and Smiths, whom thou doſt ſo often alledge as Examples of Life: And, indeed, I believe they are very weary of being mentioned in theſe Diſcourſes. I muſt then likewiſe, replyed *Socrates*, omit the Conſequences I draw from thoſe Diſcourſes; and have no more to do with

This was the Age they were required to have, that they might be of the Senate.

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Juſtice, Piety, and the other Duties of a good Man. Yes, yes, ſaid *Charicles*, and I adviſe thee to meddle no more with thoſe that tend Herds of Oxen: Otherwiſe take care thou loſeſt not thy * own. And theſe laſt Words made it appear that *Critias* and *Charicles* had taken Offence at the Diſcourſe which *Socrates* had held againſt their Government, when he compared them to a Man that ſuffers his Herd to fall to ruin. Thus we ſee how *Critias* frequented *Socrates*, and what Opinion they had of each other. I add moreover, That we cannot learn any Thing of a Man whom we do not like: Therefore, if *Critias* and *Alcibiades* made no great Improvement with *Socrates*, it proceeded from this, That they never liked him *. For at the very Time that they converſed with him, they always rather courted the Converſation of thoſe who were employed in the publick Affairs, becauſe they had no Deſign but to govern. And there is a Story of a certain Conference which *Alcibiades*, while he was yet under twenty Years of Age, had with his Tutor *Pericles*, who was the chief Man of the City, concerning the Nature of the Laws. Pray, ſays *Alcibiades*, explain to me what the Law is: For as I hear Men praiſed who obſerve the Laws, I imagine that this Praiſe could not be given to Men, who know not what the Law is.

* *This muſt be underſtood of his Way of Living, at leaſt as to* Alcibiades, *for both* Plato *and* Plutarch *tell us, that he loved* Socrates *very well.* See the Life of Socrates.

* *I doubt if* Socrates *had any Oxen to loſe, being ſo poor himſelf, and this makes me believe that there is an Equivocation in the Greek; for in thoſe Days the* Athenians *had certain Pieces of Money of a Penny Value, which they called* Oxen, *becauſe they were ſtamped with the Figure of an* Ox, *and it is likely that this Menace of* Critias *was meant rather of thoſe Oxen than any others.*

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is. 'Tis eaſy to ſatisfy you, anſwered *Pericles:* the Law is only what the People in a general Aſſembly ordain, declaring what ought to be done, and what ought not to be done. And tell me, added *Alcibiades*, do they ordain to do what is Good, or what is Ill? Moſt certainly what is Good. *Alcibiades* purſued: And how would you call what a ſmall Number of Citizens ſhould ordain, in States where the People is not the Maſter, but all is ordered by the Advice of a few Perſons, who poſſeſs the Sovereign Authority? I would call whatever they ordain, a Law; for Laws are nothing elſe but the Ordinances of Sovereigns. If a Tyrant then ordain any thing, will that be a Law? Yes, it will, ſaid *Pericles:* But what then is Violence and Injuſtice, continued *Alcibiades*, is it not when the ſtrongeſt makes himſelf be obeyed by the weakeſt, not by Conſent, but by Force only? In my Opinion it is. It follows then, ſays *Alcibiades*, that Ordinances made by a Prince, without the Conſent of the Citizens, will be abſolutely unjuſt. I believe ſo, ſaid *Pericles*, and cannot allow that the Ordinances of a Prince, when they are made without the Conſent of the People, ſhould bear the Name of Laws. And what the chief Citizens ordain, without procuring the Conſent of the greater Number, is that likewiſe a Violence? There is no Queſtion of it, anſwered *Pericles*, and in general, every Ordinance made without the Conſent of thoſe who are to obey it, is a Violence rather than a Law. And is what the Populace ordains in ſpight of the Perſons of Quality, a Violence likewiſe, and not a Law? No doubt it is, ſaid *Pericles:* But when I was of your Age, I could reſolve all theſe Difficulties, becauſe I made it my Buſineſs to inquire into them, as you do now. Would to God, cryed *Alcibiades*, I had been ſo happy as to have converſed with you then, when you underſtood theſe Matters better. To this purpoſe was their Dialogue.

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Moreover, *Critias* and *Alcibiades* continued not long with *Socrates*, after they believed they had improved themſelves, and gained ſome Advantages over the other Citizens: For beſides that they thought not his Converſation very agreeable, they were diſpleaſed that he took upon him to reprimand them for their Faults: And thus they threw themſelves immediately into the publick Affairs, having never had any other Deſign but that. The uſual Companions of *Socrates* were *Crito*, *Chærephon*, *Chærecrates*, *Simmias*, *Cebes*, *Phædon*, and ſome others, none of whom frequented him, that they might learn to ſpeak eloquently, either in the Aſſemblies of the People, or in the Courts of Juſtice before the Judges; but that they might become better Men, and know how to behave themſelves well towards their Domeſticks, their Relations, their Friends, and their Fellow-Citizens. All theſe Perſons led very innocent Lives; and whether we conſider them in their Youth, or examine their Behaviour in a more advanced Age, we ſhall find that they never were guilty of any ill Actions, nay, that they never gave the leaſt Reaſon to ſuſpect them of being ſo.

This muſt be explained, as we ſaid before.

But the Accuſer ſays, That *Socrates* encouraged Children to male-treat their Parents, making them believe that he was more capable to inſtruct them than they; and telling them, that as the Laws permit a Man to chain his own Father, if he can convict him of Lunacy, ſo in like Manner it is but juſt that a Man of excellent Senſe ſhould throw another into Chains who has not ſo much Senſe as himſelf! I cannot deny but that *Socrates* may have ſaid ſomething like this, but he meant it not in the Senſe in which the Accuſer would have it taken: And he fully diſcovered what his Meaning by thoſe Words was, when he ſaid; That he who ſhould pretend to chain

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chain others becauſe of their Ignorance, ought for the ſame Reaſon to ſubmit to be chained himſelf by Men who know more than he. Hence it is that he argued ſo often of the Difference between Folly and Ignorance; and then he plainly ſaid, That Fools and Madmen ought to be chained indeed, as well for their own Intereſt, as for that of their Friends; but that they who are ignorant of Things they ought to know, ought only to be inſtructed by thoſe that know them.

The Accuſer goes on, that *Socrates* did not only teach Men to deſpiſe their Parents, but likewiſe their other Relations; becauſe he ſaid, That if a Man be ſick, or have a Suit in Law, it is not his Relations, but the Phyſicians, or the Advocates who are of Uſe to him. In like Manner, that ſpeaking of Friends, he ſaid, it was to no Purpoſe to bear Good-will to any Man, if it be not in our Power to ſerve him, and that the only Friends whom we ought to value are they, who know what is good for us, and can teach it to us. Thus, ſays the Accuſer, *Socrates*, by perſuading the young Men that he was the wiſeſt of all Men, and the moſt capable to ſet others in the right Road to Wiſdom, made them believe, That all the reſt of Mankind were nothing in Compariſon of him. I own that I have ſometimes heard him diſcourſing after this Manner, concerning Friends and Relations, and I well remember that he ſaid beſides, That when the Soul, in which the Reaſon and the Underſtanding reſide, is gone out of the Body; we ſoon bury the Corps; and even though it be our neareſt Relation, we endeavour to get rid of it as ſoon as decently we can. Farther, though every Man love his own Body to a great Degree, we ſcruple not nevertheleſs to take from it all that is ſuperfluous: For this Reaſon we cut our Hair and pare our Nails, we take off our Corns an

Uſeleſs Friends.

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and our Warts, and we put ourſelves into the Chyrurgeons Hands, and indure Caufticks and Inciſions: And after they have made us ſuffer a great deal of Pain, we think ourſelves obliged to give them a Reward: Thus too we ſpit, becauſe the Spittle is of no Uſe in the Mouth, but on the contrary is troubleſome. Now *Socrates* argued not in this Manner to conclude, That a Man ought to bury his Father alive, or that we ought to cut off our Legs and Arms: But he meant only to teach us, That what is uſeleſs is contemptible, and to exhort every Man to improve and render himſelf uſeful to others; to the End, That if we deſire to be eſteemed by our Father, our Brother, or any other Relation, we ſhould not rely ſo much on our Parentage and Conſanguinity, as not to endeavour to render ourſelves always uſeful to thoſe, whoſe Eſteem we deſire to obtain.

The Accuſer ſays farther againſt *Socrates*, That he was ſo malicious as to chuſe out of the famous Poets, the Paſſages that contained the worſt Inſtructions, and that he made Uſe of them to teach, by a Side-wind, Injuſtice and Violence: As this Verſe of *Heſiod*,

Blame no Imployment, but blame Idleneſs.

Labour and Idleneſs.

And he pretends that *Socrates* alledged this Paſſage to prove that the Poet meant to ſay, That we ought not to think any Imployment unjuſt or diſhonourable, if we can make any Advantage of it. This, however, was far from the Thoughts of *Socrates*; but as he had always taught, that Imployment and Buſineſs are uſeful and honourable to Man, and that Idleneſs is an Evil, he concluded, that they who buſy themſelves about any Thing that is Good, are indeed imployed; but that Gameſters and debauched Perſons, and all who have

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have no Occupations, but such as are hurtful and wicked, are Idle; and in this Sense is it not true to say,

Blame no Imployment, but blame Idleness?

The Accuser likewise says, That *Socrates* often repeated some Verses out of *Homer*, who speaking of *Ulysses* says,

If any of the Kings he wav'ring finds,
He strives, with Words like these, to raise their sinking Minds:
Let Fear on base ignoble Hearts take hold;
But let your brave Examples make your Subjects bold:
Despair not of Success, for ev'ry Man
Is sure to conquer, who but thinks he can.
But if the private Soldiers durst declare
Their Thoughts, and grumble at the tedious War;
On them he dealt his heavy Blows around;
Their hollow Sides the rattling Thumps resound:
Learn to obey, base Scoundrel, thou, he cries,
*Not brave in Battle, nor in Council wise.**

And from thence he draws this Inference, that *Socrates* taught that the Poet advised to beat the Poor and abuse the Common People. But *Socrates* was far from drawing that Inference, since he would then have argued against himself. What he meant therefore was only this, That such as are neither Men of Counsel nor Execution, who are neither fit to advise in the City, nor to serve in the Army, and are nevertheless proud and insolent, ought to be brought to Reason, even though they be possessed of great Riches. And this was the true Meaning of *Socrates:* For he loved the Men of low Condition,

* This Passage is in the 20th Iliad, where the Poet relates what Ulysses did to hinder the Greeks from raising the Siege, which they were inclined to do, beginning to despair of the taking of Troy.

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and expreſſed a great Civility for all Sorts of Perſons; inſomuch, that whenever he was conſulted, either by the *Athenians* or by Foreigners, he would never take any Thing of any Man, for the Inſtructions he gave them, but imparted his Wiſdom freely and without Reward to all the World: While they who became rich by his Liberality, did not afterwards behave themſelves ſo generouſly, but ſold very dear to others what had coſt them nothing; and not being of ſo obliging a Temper as he, would not impart their Knowledge to any, who had it not in their Power to reward them. In ſhort, *Socrates* has rendered the City of *Athens* famous throughout the whole Earth: And as *Lychas* was ſaid to be the Honour of *Sparta*, becauſe he treated, at his own Expence, all the Foreigners who came to the * Feaſts of the *Gymnopædies*, ſo it may with much greater Reaſon be ſaid of *Socrates*, That he was the Glory of *Athens*, he who all his Life made a continual Diſtribution of his Goodneſs and Virtues, and who keeping open for all the World the Treaſures of an ineſtimable Wealth, never ſent any Man out of his Company, but more Virtuous, and more a Man of Honour than he was before. Therefore, in my Opinion, if he had been treated according to his Merit, they ſhould have decreed him Publick Honours, rather than have condemned him to an infamous Death. For againſt whom have the Laws ordained the Puniſhment of Death? Againſt Thieves, Robbers, and Men guilty of Sacrilege, againſt thoſe who ſell Perſons that are Free: And where can we find a Man more innocent of all thoſe Crimes than *Socrates*? Can it be ſaid of him, that he ever held Correſpondence with the Enemies, that he ever fomented any Sedition, that he ever was the Cauſe of a Rebellion, or

* This was one of the great Feaſts of the Lacedæmonians, where the young Men danced naked in Honour of Apollo. Pauſan. Lacon. Ath. lib. 15.

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or any other the like Miſchiefs? Can any Man lay to his Charge that he ever detained his Eſtate, or did him or it the leaſt Injury? Was he ever ſo much as ſuſpected of any of theſe Things? How then is it poſſible he ſhould be guilty of the Crimes of which he was accuſed? ſeeing inſtead of not believing in the Gods, as the Accuſer ſays, it is manifeſt that he was a ſincere Adorer of them: Inſtead of corrupting the Youth, as he farther alledges againſt him, he made it his chief Imployment to purge his Friends from all evil Deſires, and in the Room thereof, to inſpire them with the Love of that excellent and noble Virtue, which renders both Families and States flouriſhing? And this being true, is it not certain that the Republick was extreamly obliged to him, and that he deſerved very great Honours? Having therefore obſerved myſelf, that all who frequented him, improved themſelves very much in his Converſation, becauſe he inſtructed them no leſs by his Example than by his Diſcourſes, I am reſolved to ſet down in this Work all that I can recollect both of his Actions and Words.

Recapitulation of all he has ſaid.

Xenophon's Deſign in this Work.

Firſt then, as to what relates to the Service of the Gods, he ſtrictly conformed to the Advice of the Oracle, who never gives any other Anſwer to thoſe who inquire of him in what Manner they ought to Sacrifice to the Gods, what Honours they ought to render to the Dead, than that every one ſhould obſerve the Cuſtoms of his Country. Thus in all Actions of Piety, *Socrates* took particular Care to do nothing contrary to the Cuſtom of the Republick; and adviſed his Friends to make that the Rule of their Devotion to the Gods, alledging it to be an Argument of Superſtition and Vanity to diſſent from the eſtabliſhed Worſhip.

Of the Service of the Gods.

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How we ought to pray to the Gods.

When he prayed to the Gods, he beſought them only to give him what is good, becauſe they know better than ourſelves, what Things are truly good for us: And he ſaid that Men who pray for Silver, or for Gold, or for the Sovereign Authority, are as much unreaſonable, as if they prayed that they might play or fight; or deſired any other Thing, whoſe Event is uncertain, and that might be likely to turn to their Diſadvantage.

Of the Sacrifices of the Poor.

When he offered Sacrifices, he did not believe that his Poverty rendered them deſpicable in the Face of the Gods; and while he gave according to his Ability, he thought he gave as much as the Rich, who load the Altars with Gifts: For he held, That it would be an Injuſtice in the Gods to take more Delight in great Sacrifices, than in little Offerings; becauſe it would then follow, that the Preſents of the Wicked would for the moſt Part be more acceptable to them, than the Gifts of the Good; and that if this were ſo, we ought not to deſire to live one Moment longer: He thought therefore that nothing was ſo acceptable to the Gods, as the Honour that is rendered them by Souls truly pious and innocent. To this Purpoſe he often repeated theſe Verſes:

Offer to Heav'n according to thy Pow'r:
Th' indulgent gracious Gods require no more.

And not only in this, but in all the other Occaſions of Life, he thought the beſt Advice he could give his Friends was, to do all Things according to their Ability.

Obedience of Socrates towards the Gods.

When he believed that the Gods had admoniſhed him to do any Thing, it was as impoſſible to make him take a contrary Reſolution,

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lution, as it would have been to have prevailed with him in a Journey, to turn off a Guide that was clear-sighted, to take one that knew not the Way, and was blind likewise. For this Reason, he pityed their Folly, who to avoid the Derision of Men, live not according to the Admonitions and Commands of the Gods: And he beheld with Contempt all the Subtleties of human Prudence, when he compared them with divine Inspirations.

His way of living was such, that whoever follows it, may be assured with the Help of the Gods, that he shall acquire a robust Constitution, and a Health not to be easily disordered: And this too without being obliged to any great Expence: For he was satisfyed with so little, that I believe there was not in all the World a Man who could work at all, but might have earned enough to have maintained him. He generally eat as long as he found Pleasure in eating, and when he sate down to Table, he desired no other Sauce but a good Stomach. All Sorts of Drink were alike pleasing to him, because he never drank but when he was thirsty; and if sometimes he was invited to a Feast, he easily avoided eating and drinking to excess, which many find very difficult to do on those Occasions. But he advised those who had no Government of themselves, never to taste of Things that tempt a Man to eat when he is no longer hungry, and that excite him to drink when his Thirst is already quenched: Because it is this that spoils the Stomach, causes the Head-ach, and puts the Soul into Disorder. And he said between jest and earnest, that he believed it was with such Meats as those that *Circe* changed Men into Swine, and that *Ulysses* avoided that Transformation by the Counsel

Temperance of Socrates in eating and drinking.

Swine of Circe.

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Counſel of *Mercury*, and becauſe he had Temperance enough to abſtain from taſting them.

Excellent Diſcourſe of Socrates on Occaſion of a Kiſs.

As to Love, his Advice was to avoid carefully the Company of beautiful Perſons, ſaying it was very difficult to be near them, and eſcape being taken in the Snare: And having been told that *Critobulus* had given a Kiſs to the Son of *Alcibiades*, who was a very handſome Youth, he held this Diſcourſe to *Xenophon* in the Preſence of *Critobulus* himſelf. Tell me, *Xenophon*, what Opinion haſt thou hitherto had of *Critobulus?* Haſt thou placed him in the Rank of the Temperate and Judicious; or of the Debauched and Imprudent? I, ſays *Xenophon*, have always looked on him to be a very virtuous and prudent Man. *Socrates* replyed, change thy Opinion, and believe him more raſh than if he threw himſelf on the Points of naked Swords, or leapt into the Fire. And what have you ſeen him do, ſaid *Xenophon*, that gives you Reaſon to ſpeak thus of him? Had he not the Temerity, anſwered *Socrates*, to kiſs the Son of *Alcibiades*, who is ſo beautiful and charming? And is this all, ſaid *Xenophon*; methinks I too could willingly expoſe myſelf to the ſame Danger that he did. Wretch that thou art! replied *Socrates:* Doſt thou conſider what happens to thee, after thou haſt kiſſed a beautiful Face? Doſt thou not loſe thy Liberty? Doſt thou not become a Slave? Doſt thou not engage thy ſelf in a vaſt Expence, to procure a ſinful Pleaſure? Doſt thou not find thy ſelf in an Incapacity of doing what is good, and that thou ſubjecteſt thy ſelf to the Neceſſity of imploying thy whole Time and Perſon in the Purſuit of what thou wouldeſt deſpiſe, if thy Reaſon were not corrupted? Great Gods! cryed *Xenophon*, this is aſcribing a wonderful Power to a Kiſs. And art thou ſurprized at it? anſwered *Socrates:* Are there not ſome ſmall Animals

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Animals whose Bite is so venemous, that it causes insufferable Pains, and even the Loss of the Senses? I know it very well, said *Xenophon*, but these Animals leave a Poyson behind them when they sting. And dost thou think, foolish Man as thou art, added *Socrates*, that Kisses of Love are not venomous, because thou seest not the Poyson? Know that a beautiful Person is a more dangerous Animal than Scorpions, because these cannot wound unless they touch us; but Beauty strikes at a Distance: From what Place soever we can but behold her, she darts her Venom on us, and overthrows our Judgment. And perhaps for this Reason *Loves* are represented with Bows and Arrows, because a beautiful Face wounds us from afar. I advise thee therefore, *Xenophon*, when thou chanceſt to see a Beauty, to fly from it, without looking behind thee: And for thee, *Critobulus*, I think it convenient, that thou should enjoin thy self a Year's Absence, which will not be too long a Time to heal thee of thy Wound.

A Poysonous Kiss.

Why the Loves have Arrows.

As for such as have not Strength enough to resist the Power of Love, he thought that they ought to consider and use it as an Action to which the Soul would never consent, were it not for the Necessity of the Body; and which, tho' it be necessary, ought nevertheless to give us no Inquietude. As for himself, his Continence was known to all Men, and it was more easy to him to avoid courting the most celebrated Beauties, than it is to others to get away from disagreeable Objects. Thus we see what was his Way of Life in eating, drinking, and in the Affair of Love. He believed however, that he tasted of those Pleasures no less than they, who give themselves much Trouble to enjoy

Continence of Socrates.

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enjoy them: But that he had not, like them, ſo frequent Occaſions for Sorrow and Repentance.

If there be any who believe what ſome have written by Conjecture, that *Socrates* was indeed excellent in exciting Men to Virtue, but that he did not puſh them forward to make any great Progreſs in it; let ſuch reflect a little on what he ſaid, not only when he endeavoured to refute thoſe that boaſted they knew all Things, but likewiſe in his familiar Converſations, and let them judge afterwards if he was incapable to advance his Friends in the Paths of Virtue. I will in the firſt Place relate a Conference which he had with *Ariſtodemus*, ſurnamed the *Little*, touching the Deity: For he had heard, that he never ſacrificed to the Gods, that he never addreſſed himſelf to them in Prayer, that he never conſulted the Oracles, and even laughed at thoſe that practiſed theſe Things: He therefore reaſoned with him in this Manner. Tell me, *Ariſtodemus*, are there any Perſons whom you value on Account of their Merit? He anſwered, yes certainly. *Socrates* added, Tell me their Names. *Ariſtodemus* anſwered him thus. For an Epick Poem I extreamly admire *Homer*; for Dithyrambicks, *Melannipides*; *Sophocles* for Tragedy; *Polycletus* for Sculpture; and *Xeuxes* for Painting. Which Workmen, ſaid *Socrates*, doeſt thou take to be moſt worthy of thy Eſteem and Admiration: They who make Images without Soul and Motion; or they who make Animals, that move of their own Accord, and are endowed with Underſtanding? No doubt the laſt, replied *Ariſtodemus*, provided they make them not by Chance, but with Judgment and Prudence. *Socrates* went on: As there are ſome Things which we cannot ſay why they were made, and others which are apparently Good and Uſeful, tell me whether of the two thou doſt rather take to be

Socrates proves, to an impious Perſon, that there is a God.

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be the Work of Prudence than of Hazard. It is reasonable, said *Aristodemus*, to believe, that the Things which are Good and Useful, are the Workmanship of Reason and Judgment.

The Providence of God is plainly seen in the Bodies of Men and other Animals.

Dost not thou think then, replied *Socrates*, that he who made Men, gave them the Senses, because it is useful to them to have them: That he gave them Eyes, that they might see all the Things that are visible, and Ears to hear whatever can be heard: Of what Use would Odours be, if we had not Noses to smell them, and who could distinguish Tastes, and discern the Difference between Sweet and Bitter, without the Tongue, which is the Sovereign Judge of all Savours? Is it not a wonderful Providence, that our Eyes, which are extreamly delicate, are covered with Lids, which like two Doors, open whenever it is needful, and are shut in our Sleep? That there are short Hairs growing on the Edges of our Eye-lids, that the Wind may glide over, and hurt not the Eyes, and that the Eye-brows are like two Pent-houses to keep them from being incommoded by the Sweat that trickles down from the Forehead? Moreover, that the Ears receive all Sorts of Sounds, and are never full? That the Fore-teeth are proper to cut the Meat, and those on the Sides of the Mouth to grind it? That the Mouth, which is the Entrance for the Nourishment of all Animals, is near the Eyes and the Nose, that we may the better judge of the Things that enter into the Body? and because the Excrements are disagreeable, that their Evacuation is at a Distance from all the Senses? In short, these Things being disposed in such Order, and with so much Care, canst thou still be at a Loss to determine whether it be an Effect of Providence, or of Chance? I doubt not of it in the least, replied *Aristodemus*; and the more

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more I fix my Thoughts on the Contemplation of these Things, the more I am perſuaded, that all this is the Maſter-piece of a great Workman, who bears an extream Love to Men. What ſayſt thou, continued *Socrates*, to this, that he gives all Animals a Deſire to engender and propagate their Kind, that he inſpires the Mothers with Tenderneſs and Affection to bring up their Young, and that from the very Hour of their Birth, he infuſes into them this great Love of Life, and this mighty Averſion to Death? I ſay, replied *Ariſtodemus*, that it is an Effect of his great Care for their Preſervation. This is not all, ſaid *Socrates*, anſwer me yet farther, if thou hadſt not rather aſk me Queſtions. Thou art not ignorant that thou art endowed with Underſtanding: Doſt thou then think that there is not elſewhere an intelligent Being? Chiefly, if thou conſider that thy Body is only a little Earth, taken from that great Maſs which thou beholdeſt. The Moiſt that compoſes thee is only a ſmall Drop of that immenſe Heap of Water that makes the Sea: In a Word, thy Body contains only a ſmall Part of all the Elements, which are elſewhere in great Quantity. There is nothing then but thy Underſtanding alone, which by a wonderful Piece of good Fortune muſt have come to thee from I know not whence, if there were none in another Place; and can it then be ſaid, that all this Univerſe, and all theſe ſo vaſt and numerous Bodies have been diſpoſed in ſo much Order, without the Help of an intelligent Being, and by meer Chance? I find it very difficult to underſtand it otherwiſe, anſwered *Ariſtodemus*, becauſe I ſee not theſe Gods who you tell me make and govern all Things, as I ſee the other Artificers who are among us. Nor doſt thou ſee thy Soul neither, anſwered *Socrates*, which nevertheleſs governs thy

That there is an inviſible Being who has given us a reaſonable Soul.

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thy Body: And according to thy Way of arguing, it must be concluded, That it is not Reason, but Chance alone that guides thee. I do not despise the Deity, said *Aristodemus*, but I conceive so noble an Idea of his Excellence, that I imagine him to have no Need of me or of my Services. Thou art in the Wrong said *Socrates*, for the greater Magnificence the Gods discover in the Care they have of thee, the more Respect thou owest them. You cannot but know, answered *Aristodemus*, that if I thought the Gods took Care of Men, I should not neglect to honour them. How! replied *Socrates*, thou dost not think that the Gods take Care of Men, they, who in the first Place granted to Man alone the Priviledge of walking upright, which is of great Advantage to him, to discover Things afar off, to consider more at his Ease the Things above him, and to avoid many Inconveniencies? Besides, all the Animals that walk, have Feet: But they have no other Use of them than to walk: The Gods, besides Feet, have given Hands to Man, by Means of which, he makes himself the most happy Animal in the World. All Animals have Tongues; but the Tongue of a Man only can form Words, by which he declares his Thoughts, and communicates them to his Fellow-creatures. And to prove that the Gods take Care even of our Pleasures, they have determined no Season for the Loves of Men, who may at any Time, even to their extream old Age, enjoy a Pleasure, which Beasts taste not of, except in a certain Season of the Year. But they were not contented to have given Man so many Advantages for the Body; they have likewise given him a Soul, and that too the most excellent of all: For which of the other Animals hath a Soul, that knows the Being of the

The Impious confounds himself.

Particular Care of the Gods towards Men.

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the Gods, by whom ſo many marvellous Works are done? Is there any Species but Man that ſerves and adores them. Which of the Animals can, like him, protect himſelf from Hunger and Thirſt, from Heat and Cold? Which, like him, can find Remedies for Diſeaſes? Can make Uſe of his Strength? and is as capable of Learning? That ſo perfectly retains the Things he hath ſeen, heard, and known? In a Word, it is manifeſt that Man is a God, in Compariſon of the other living Species, conſidering the Advantages he naturally hath over them, both of Body and Soul. For if Man had a Body like to that of an Ox, the Subtlety of his Underſtanding would avail him nothing, becauſe he would not be able to execute what he ſhould project. On the other Hand, if an Animal had a Body like ours, yet being deſtitute of Underſtanding, he would be but as the others. Thus the Gods have united in thy Perſon the excellent Diſpoſition of Body and the Perfection of Soul, and canſt thou ſtill ſay after all, that they take no Care of thee? What would'ſt thou have them do to convince thee of the contrary? I would have them, anſwered *Ariſtodemus*, ſend on Purpoſe to let me know expreſly all that I ought to do, or not to do, in like Manner as thou ſayſt they give thee Notice. What! ſaid *Socrates*, when they pronounce any Oracle to all the *Athenians*, doſt thou think they do not addreſs themſelves to thee? when by Prodigies they make known to the *Greeks* the Things that are to happen, are they dumb to thee alone, and art thou the only Perſon they neglect? Doſt thou think that the Gods would have perſuaded Men that they can make them happy or miſerable, if it were not indeed in their Power to do ſo? and doſt thou believe that Men would have been thus long abuſed without diſcovering

God ſpeaks to us every Day.

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covering the Cheat? Knoweſt thou not that the moſt antient and wiſeſt Republicks and People are the moſt pious; and that Man at the Age when his Judgment is ripeſt, has moſt Inclination to the Service of the Gods? O my dear *Ariſtodemus!* conſider that thy Mind governs thy Body as it liſts: In like Manner we ought to believe, that there is a Mind diffuſed throughout the whole Univerſe, that diſpoſes of all Things as it pleaſes. Thou muſt not imagine that thy weak Sight can reach to Objects that are ſeveral Leagues diſtant, and that the Eye of God cannot, at one and the ſame Time, ſee all Things. Thou muſt not imagine that thy Mind can reflect on the Affairs of *Athens*, of *Egypt*, and of *Sicily*, and that the Providence of God cannot, at one and the ſame Moment, conſider all Things. As therefore thou mayeſt make Trial of the Gratitude of a Man, by doing him a Kindneſs, and as thou mayeſt diſcover his Prudence by conſulting him in difficult Affairs; ſo if thou wouldeſt be convinced how great is the Power and the Goodneſs of the Gods, put thy ſelf in a Condition to deſerve by thy Services, that they may reveal to thee ſome of thoſe great Secrets which are concealed from Men, and thou wilt then no longer doubt but that the Deity ſees all, hears all, is preſent every where, and takes Care at the ſame Time of all the Parts of the Univerſe. By ſuch Diſcourſes as theſe *Socrates* taught his Friends never to commit any injuſt, or diſhonourable Action, not only in the Preſence of Men, but even in Secret, and when they are alone, ſince the Gods have always an Eye over us, and none of our Actions can be hid from them.

Spirit of God diffuſed through all Things.

And if Temperance be a Virtue in Man, let us ſee if any Improvement can be made by what he ſaid

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ſaid of it: I will here give you one of his Diſcourſes on that Subject.

Diſcourſe of Socrates concerning Temperance.

If we were ingaged in a War, ſaid he, and were to chuſe a General, ſhould we make Choice of a Man given to Wine or Women, and who could not ſupport Fatigues and Hardſhips? Could we believe that ſuch a Man would be capable to defend us, and to conquer our Enemies? Or if we were lying on our Death-bed, and were to appoint a Guardian and Tutor for our Children, to take Care to inſtruct our Sons in the Exerciſe of Honour, to breed up our Daughters in the Paths of Virtue, and to be faithful in the Management of their Fortunes, ſhould we think a debauched Perſon fit for that Employment? Would we truſt our Flocks and our Granaries in the Hands of a Drunkard? Would we rely upon him for the Conduct of any Enterprize; and in ſhort, if a Preſent were made us of ſuch a Slave, ſhould we not make it a Difficulty to accept him? If then we have ſo great an Averſion for Debauchery in the Perſon of the meaneſt Servant, ought we not ourſelves to be very careful not to fall into the ſame Fault? Beſides, a covetous Man has the Satisfaction of enriching himſelf, and tho' he takes away another's Eſtate, he encreaſes his own; but a debauched Man is troubleſome to others, and not good to himſelf. We may ſay of him, that he is hurtful to all the World, and yet more hurtful to himſelf, if to ruin not only his Family, but his Body and Soul likewiſe is to be hurtful. Who then can take Delight in the Company of him, who has no other Diverſion than Eating and Drinking, and who is better pleaſed with the Converſation of a Proſtitute than of his Friends? Ought we not then to practice Temperance, above all

Miſerable Condition of a Man given to Debauchery.

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all Things, seeing it is the Foundation of all other Virtues? For without it, what can we learn that is Good, what do that is worthy of Praise? Is not the State of a Man who is plunged in Voluptuousness, a wretched Condition both for the Body and Soul? Certainly, in my Opinion, a free Person ought to wish to have no such Servants; and Servants addicted to such brutal Irregularities ought earnestly to pray the Gods that they may fall into the Hands of very indulgent Masters, because their Ruin will be otherwise almost unavoidable. This is what *Socrates* was wont to say upon this Subject:

Temperance of Socrates.

But if he appeared to be a Lover of Temperance in his Discourses, he was yet a more exact Observer of it in his Actions, shewing himself to be not only invincible to the Pleasures of the Senses, but even depriving himself of the Satisfaction of getting an Estate: For he believed that a Man who accepts of Money from others, makes to himself Masters of all those that give him, and becomes their Slave in a Manner no less scandalous than other Slaveries.

Socrates defends his way of living against Antiphon, who blames it.

It will not be amiss for the Honour of *Socrates* to relate what passed between him and the Sophist *Antiphon*, who designed to seduce away his Hearers, and to that End came to him when they were with him, and in their Presence addressed himself to him in these Words.

Antiphon's Reasons.

I imagined, *Socrates*, that Philosophers were happier than other Men; but, in my Opinion, thy Wisdom renders thee more miserable: For thou livest at such a Rate, that no Footman would live with a Master, that treated him in the same Manner. Thou eatest and drinkest poorly, thou art cloathed very meanly, the same Suit serves thee in Summer and Winter, thou goest barefoot, and for all

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all this thou takeſt no Money, tho' it is a Pleaſure to get it, and after a Man has got it, he lives more creditably, and more at his Eaſe. If therefore, as in all other Sorts of Arts, Apprentices endeavour to imitate their Maſters, they who frequent thy Converſation, become like thee, it is certain that thou wilt have taught them nothing, but to make themſelves miſerable. *Socrates* anſwered him thus. Thou thinkeſt, *Antiphon*, I live ſo poorly, that I believe thou wouldeſt rather die than live like me. But what is it thou findeſt ſo ſtrange and uneaſy in my Way of living? Thou blameſt me for not taking Money: Is it becauſe they who take Money are obliged to do what they promiſe, and that I, who take none, entertain myſelf only with whom I think fit? Thou deſpiſeſt my eating and drinking: Is it becauſe my Food is not ſo good, nor ſo nouriſhing as thine, or becauſe it is more ſcarce and dearer: Or laſtly, becauſe thy Fare ſeems to thee to be better? Know that a Man who likes what he eats, needs no other Ragout, and that he who finds one Sort of Drink pleaſant, wiſhes for no other. As to my Cloaths, thou knoweſt not what thou wouldeſt be at: For we dreſs ourſelves differently, only becauſe of the hot or cold Weather; and if we wear Shoes, it is becauſe we would walk the eaſier. But tell me, did you ever ſee that the Cold has hindered me from going abroad? Haſt thou ever ſeen me chuſe the cool and freſh Shades in hot Weather? And tho' I go barefoot, ſeeſt thou not that I go wherever I will? Doſt thou not know that there are ſome Perſons of a very tender Conſtitution, who by aſſiduous Exerciſe ſurmount the Weakneſs of their Nature, and, at length, endure Fatigues better than they who are naturally more robuſt, but have not taken Pains to exerciſe and harden themſelves like the others? Thus therefore, doſt not thou believe

Socrates's Anſwer

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lieve that I, who have all my Life inured myſelf to undergo in Patience all Manner of Fatigues, cannot now more eaſily ſubmit to this than thou, who haſt never thought of it? If I am not greedy of Dainties, if I ſleep little, if I abandon not myſelf to any infamous Amour, the Reaſon is becauſe I ſpend my Time more delightfully in Things, whoſe Pleaſure ends not in the Moment of Enjoyment, and that make me hope beſides, to receive an everlaſting Reward. Moreover, thou knoweſt very well, that when a Man ſees that his Affairs go ill, he is not generally very gay; and that on the contrary, they who think to ſucceed in their Deſigns, whether in Agriculture, Traffick, or any other Undertaking, are very contented in their Minds. Now, doſt thou believe that from any thing whatſoever there can proceed a Satisfaction like that of believing, that we improve daily in Virtue, and acquire the Acquaintance and Friendſhip of the beſt of Men? And if we were to ſerve our Friends or our Country, would not a Man who lives like me, be more capable of it, than one that ſhould follow that Courſe of Life which thou takeſt to be ſo engaging? If it were neceſſary to carry Arms, which of the two would be the beſt Soldier, he who muſt always Fare deliciouſly, or he who is ſatisfied with what he finds? If they were to undergo a Siege, who would hold out longeſt, he who cannot live without Delicates, or he who requires nothing but what may eaſily be had? One would think, *Antiphon*, that thou believeſt Happineſs to conſiſt in good eating and drinking, and in an expenſive and ſplendid

The Occupations of Socrates were full of Pleaſure.

Inward Content of Socrates.

Advantage of Socrates in his way of Life.

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To have need of little is to approach near the Deity.

did Way of Life. I, for my Part, am of Opinion, that to have Need of Nothing at all, is a divine Perfection, and that to have Need but of little, is to approach very near the Deity: And hence it follows, That as there is nothing more excellent than the Deity, whatever approaches neareſt to it, is likewiſe moſt near the ſupream Excellence.

Antiphon blames Socrates again for not taking Money.

Another Time *Antiphon* ſaid likewiſe to *Socrates*: I confeſs thou art an honeſt well-meaning Man, but it is certain thou knoweſt nothing; and one would think thou oweneſt this to be true, for thou getteſt nothing by thy Teaching. And yet thou wouldeſt not thus give, for no Conſideration, either thy Cloak, or thy Houſe, becauſe thou believeſt them of ſome ſmall Value; nay, thou wouldeſt not part with them for leſs than they are worth: If therefore thou thoughteſt thy Converſation worth any Thing, thou wouldeſt be paid for it according to its Value; and in this thou ſheweſt thy ſelf honeſt, becauſe thou wilt not out of Avarice cheat any Man: But at the ſame Time thou diſcovereſt too that thou knoweſt but little, ſince all thy Knowledge is not worth the buying.

Compariſon between Doctrine and Beauty.

Socrates anſwered him in this Manner. There is a great Reſemblance between Beauty, and the Doctrine of Philoſophers: What is Praiſe-worthy in the one, is ſo in the other, and both of them are ſubject to the ſame Vice: For if a Woman ſells her Beauty for Money, we immediately call her a Proſtitute: But if ſhe knows that a Man of Worth and Condition is fallen in Love with her, and if ſhe makes him

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him her Friend, we ſay ſhe is a prudent Woman: It is juſt the ſame with the Doctrine of Philoſophers, they that ſell it, are Sophiſts, and like the publick Women: But if a Philoſopher obſerve a Youth of excellent Parts, and teaches him what he knows, in order to obtain his Friendſhip, we ſay of him, That he acts the Part of a good Citizen. Thus as ſome delight in Horſes, others in Dogs, and others in Birds, for my Part all my Delight is to be with my Friends. I teach them all the Good I know, and recommend them to all whom I believe capable to aſſiſt them in the Way to Perfection. We all draw together out of the ſame Fountain, the precious Treaſures which the antient Sages have left us: We run over their Works, and if we find any Thing excellent, we take Notice of it: In ſhort, we believe we have made a great Improvement, when we begin to love one another. This was the Anſwer he made; and when I heard him ſpeak in this Manner, I thought him very Happy, and that he effectually ſtirred up his Hearers to the Love of Virtue.

Sophiſts are like common Women.

Another Time *Antiphon* aſked him, why he did not concern himſelf with Affairs of State, ſeeing he thought himſelf capable to make others good Politicians? He returned this Anſwer. Should I be more ſerviceable to the State, if I took an Imployment, whoſe Function would be wholly bounded in my Perſon, and take up all my Time, than I am by inſtructing every one, as I do, and in furniſhing the Republick with a great Number of Citizens who are capable to ſerve her?

But let us now ſee, if by diſſuading his Friends from Vanity, he did not exhort them to the Purſuit of Virtue. He frequently ſaid, That there was no readier

Diſcourſe of Socrates againſt Vanity.

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Way to Glory, than to render ones ſelf Excellent, and not to affect to appear ſo. To prove this, he alledged the following Example. Let us ſuppoſe, ſaid he, that any one would be thought a good Muſician, without being ſo in reality, what Courſe muſt he take? He muſt be careful to imitate the great Maſters in every Thing that is not of their Art: He muſt like them have fine muſical Inſtruments; he muſt like them be followed by a great Number of Perſons wherever he goes, who muſt be always talking in his Praiſe. And yet he muſt not venture to ſing in Publick; for then all Men would immediately perceive not only his Ignorance, but his Preſumption and Folly likewiſe. And would it not be ridiculous in him, to ſpend his Eſtate to ruin his Reputation? In like Manner, if any one would appear a great General, or a good Pilot, though he know nothing of either, what would be the Iſſue of it? If he cannot make others believe it, it troubles him, and if he can perſuade them to think ſo, he is yet more unhappy. For if he be made choice of to pilot Ships, or to command an Army, he will acquit himſelf very ill of his Office, and perhaps be the Cauſe of the Loſs of his beſt Friends. It is not leſs dangerous to appear to be rich, or brave, or ſtrong, if we are not ſo indeed; for this Opinion of us may procure us Imployments that are above our Capacity, and if we fail to effect what was expected of us, there is no Excuſe for our Faults. And if it be a great Cheat to wheedle one of your Neighbours out of any of his ready Money or Goods, and not reſtore them to him afterwards, it is a much greater Impudence and Cheat, for a worthleſs Fellow to govern a Republick. By theſe and the like Arguments he inſpired a Hatred of Vanity and Oſtentation into the Minds of thoſe who frequented him.

BOOK

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BOOK II.

IN my Opinion likewiſe, he encouraged his Hearers by the following Arguments, to ſupport Hunger and Thirſt, to reſiſt the Temptations of Love, to fly from Lazineſs, and inure themſelves to all Manner of Fatigues: Being told that one of them was given to Intemperance, he aſked him this Queſtion: *Ariſtippus*, if thou wert intruſted with the Education of two young Men, one to be a Prince, and the other a private Man, how wouldeſt thou breed them up? Let us begin by their Nouriſhment, as from the firſt Rudiments. It is true, ſaid *Ariſtippus*, that Nouriſhment is the Foundation of our Life, for without Food there cannot be Life. Thou wouldeſt accuſtom both of them, ſaid *Socrates*, to eat and drink at a certain Hour? It is likely I ſhould. But which of the two, ſaid *Socrates*, would thou teach to leave Eating before he was ſatisfied, to go about ſome earneſt Buſineſs? Him without doubt, anſwered *Ariſtippus*, whom I intended to render capable to govern, to the End that the Affairs of the State might not ſuffer under his Adminiſtration. Which of the two, continued *Socrates*, wouldeſt thou teach to abſtain from Drinking when he was Thirſty, to Sleep but little, to go late to Bed, to riſe early, to watch whole Nights; to live chaſtly, to get the better of his darling Inclinations, ſo as not to be impeded by them; not to avoid Fatigues, but expoſe himſelf freely to them? The ſame ſtill, replied *Ariſtippus*. And if there be any Art that teaches to overcome our Enemies, to which of the two is it moſt reaſon-

Severe Exerciſes of a Prince.

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able to teach it? To him too, ſaid *Ariſtippus*, for without that Art, all the reſt would avail him nothing. I believe, ſaid *Socrates*, that a Man, who has been educated in this Manner, would not ſuffer himſelf to be more eaſily ſurprized by his Enemies, than other Animals. For ſome periſh by their Gluttony, as thoſe whom we allure with a Bait, who fall into the Snares, notwithſtanding their natural Fear and Diſtruſt. Others are caught by the Means of Drink. Others periſh through their Laſciviouſneſs, as Quails and Partridges, who ſuffer themſelves to be decoyed by the counterfeit Voice of their Females, and blindly following the amorous Warmth that tranſports them, fall miſerably into the Nets. You ſay true, ſaid *Ariſtippus*. Well then, purſued *Socrates*, is it not ſcandalous for a Man to be taken in the ſame Snares with the moſt irrational Animals? And does not this happen to Adulterers, who ſkulk and hide themſelves in the Chambers and Cloſets of married Women, though they know they run a great Danger, and that the Laws are very rigorous againſt thoſe Crimes? They know themſelves to be watched, and that if they are taken, they ſhall be expoſed to Shame. In a Word, they ſee the Puniſhments and Infamy that hang over the Heads of Criminals like themſelves. Beſides, they are not ignorant that there are a thouſand honourable Diverſions to free them from theſe infamous Paſſions, notwithſtanding which they run Hand over Head into the midſt of theſe Dangers: And what is this but to be very wretched and very deſperate? I think it ſo, anſwered *Ariſtippus*. What ſayeſt thou, continued *Socrates*, to ſee that the moſt neceſſary and moſt important Affairs of Life, as thoſe of War and Husbandry,

The Intemperance of Animals is the Cauſe of their Deſtruction.

The Intemperance of Man renders him like Beaſts.

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Husbandry, are, as well as ſeveral others of little leſs Conſequence, performed in the Fields and in the open Air, and that the greateſt part of Mankind accuſtom themſelves ſo little to indure the Injuries of the Seaſons, to ſuffer Heat and Cold? Is not this a great Neglect, and doſt not thou think that a Man who is to command others, ought to inure himſelf to all theſe Hardſhips? *Ariſtippus* anſwered, I think he ought. If therefore, replied *Socrates*, they who are patient and laborious, as we have ſaid, are worthy to command, may we not ſay, that they who are incapable of bearing ſuch Hardſhips are excluded from governing? *Ariſtippus* agreed to it, and *Socrates* went on. Since then thou knoweſt the Rank which either of theſe two ſorts of Men ought to hold, among which wouldeſt thou place thyſelf? Myſelf, ſaid *Ariſtippus*, I envy not the Fortune of thoſe that govern; and when I reflect that we find Difficulty enough to ſupply our own ſelves with what we have need of, I think him little better than a Fool who loads himſelf beſides with all the Neceſſities of a People: as he muſt frequently be without many Things that he deſires. And that we ſhould engage ourſelves in an Imployment that would render us liable to Blame, if we did not take care to ſupply others with every thing they want, is in my Opinion great Folly. For Republicks make uſe of their Magiſtrates as I do of my Slaves, whoſe Duty I think it to provide me with Meat and Drink and all other Neceſſaries, and that they do not preſume to touch any of it themſelves: Thus the People will have thoſe who govern the State take care to provide them with plenty of all Things, and will not ſuffer them to do any thing for their own Advantage. I think therefore, that all who are pleaſed with a hurry of Affairs, and creating Buſineſs for others, are moſt fit to govern,

A Prince ought to inure himſelf to Hardſhips.

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provided they have been educated and instructed in the manner we mentioned. But for my Part, I desire to lead a more quiet and easy Life. Let us then said *Socrates*, consider, whether they who govern, lead more happy Lives than their Subjects: Among the Nations that are known to us, in *Asia* the *Syrians*, the *Phrygians*, and the *Lydians* are under the Empire of the *Persians*. In *Europe*, the *Mæotians* are subject to the *Scythians*: In *Africa*, the *Carthaginians* reign over the rest of the *Africans*: Which, in thy Opinion, are the most happy? Let us look into *Greece*, where thou art at present: Whose Condition thinkest thou is most to be desired, that of the Nations who rule, or of the People who are under the Dominion of others? I can never, said *Aristippus*, consent to be a Slave, but there is a Way between both, that leads neither to Empire nor Slavery, and this is the Road of Liberty, in which I endeavour to walk, because it is the shortest to arrive at true Quiet and Repose. If thou hadst said, replied *Socrates*, that this Way, which leads neither to Empire nor Slavery, is a way that leads far from all human Society, thou wouldest perhaps have said something: But how can we live among Men, and neither command nor obey? Seest thou not that the Mighty oppress the Weak, and use them as their Slaves, after having given them a thousand Reasons to complain, both in general and particular? And if they find any who will not submit, they ravage their Countries, spoil their Corn, cut down their Trees, and attack them in all Manners, 'till they are compelled to yield themselves up to Slavery, rather than undergo so unequal a War? Among private Men themselves, do not the Strongest and most Bold trample on the Weak and Indolent? To the End therefore, that this may not happen to me,

Whether they who govern are happier than their Subjects.

Common Errors.

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me, said *Ariſtippus*, I confine myſelf not to any Republick, but am ſometimes here, ſometimes there, a Stranger every where. This Invention of yours, replied *Socrates*, is very extraordinary: And ſince the Death of *Sinnis*, of *Scyron*, and of *Procruſtes*, I ſuppoſe there is no Man left who treats Travellers ill. But what? They who continue always in their Country, are under the Protection of the Laws, they have Relations and Friends to aſſiſt them, they have fortified Towns, and Arms for their Defence: They have Alliances with their Neighbours, and yet with all theſe Advantages they cannot ſhelter themſelves from the Attempts of ill Men. And thou, who haſt none of theſe Advantages, who art for the moſt Part upon the Roads, which are very dangerous for all Men, who never comeſt to any Town where thou haſt not leſs Credit than the meaneſt Inhabitant: In a Word, who art ſuch a Perſon as the Injurious make their Attempts againſt, doſt thou hope to be ſpared becauſe thou art a Stranger, or becauſe thou haſt Paſſports from the Republicks, that promiſe thee all manner of Safety going or coming, or becauſe thou wouldeſt make ſo ill a Slave, that a Maſter would be never the better for thee? For who would ſuffer in his Family a Man, who would not work, and yet expected to live well? But let us ſee how Maſters uſe ſuch Servants. When they are too laſcivious, they judge Faſting a proper Puniſhment: If they are Thieves, they prevent them from Stealing, by carefully looking up whatever they could take: They chain them for fear they ſhould run away: If they are lazy, Stripes and Scourges are the Remedies applied: If thou thyſelf hadſt a worthleſs Slave, wouldeſt thou not take the ſame Meaſures with

Theſe were famous Robbers, whom Theſeus ſlew. See Plutarch in his Life.

He ſays this, becauſe they that fell into the hands of Thieves, were in danger of being ſold for Slaves.

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with him? *Ariſtippus* anſwered: I would treat ſuch a Fellow with all manner of Severity, till I had brought him to ſerve me better. But, *Socrates*, let us reſume our former Diſcourſe. In what do they, who are educated in the Art of Governing, which thou ſeemeſt to think a great Happineſs, differ from thoſe who ſuffer through Neceſſity? For thou ſayeſt they muſt accuſtom themſelves to Hunger and Thirſt, to endure Cold and Heat, to ſleep little, and that they muſt voluntarily expoſe themſelves to a thouſand other Fatigues and Hardſhips. Now I cannot comprehend what Difference there is between being whipt willingly, and by Force, or that it matters the leaſt whether the Body endures theſe Hardſhips voluntarily or otherwiſe; except that it is a Folly in a Man to be willing to ſuffer Pain. How! ſaid *Socrates*, thou knoweſt not this difference between Things voluntary and conſtrained; that he who ſuffers Hunger, becauſe he is pleaſed to do ſo, may likewiſe eat when he pleaſes; and he who ſuffers Thirſt, becauſe he is willing, may alſo drink when he will: But it is not in the Power of him who ſuffers either of them through Conſtraint and Neceſſity, to relieve himſelf by eating and drinking the Moment he deſires it? Beſides, he that voluntarily embraces any laborious Exerciſe, finds much Comfort and Content in the Hope that animates him. Thus the Fatigues of Hunting diſincourage not the Hunters, becauſe they hope to take the Game they purſue. And yet what they take, though they think it their Reward, is certainly of very little Value. Ought not they then, who labour to gain the Friendſhip of good Men, or to ſurmount their Enemies, or to render themſelves capable of well-governing their Families, and of ſerving

Objections of Ariſtippus againſt what Socrates ſaid of the Education of a Prince.

Hope is a Comfort to Labour.

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ſerving their Country, ought not theſe, I ſay, joyfully to undertake the Trouble, and to live content, being very well ſatisfied with themſelves, and perceiving they are eſteemed by others? And to prove to thee, that it is good to impoſe Labours on our ſelves, it is a Maxim among thoſe who inſtruct Youth, that the Exerciſes which are eaſily performed at the firſt Attempt, and which we immediately take delight in, are not capable to form the Body well, nor of imprinting in the Soul any conſiderable Knowledge: But that thoſe which require Patience, Application, Labour, and Aſſiduity, prepare the Way to illuſtrious Actions and great Atchievements. This is the Opinion of good Judges, and *Heſiod* ſays ſomewhere,

For Vice *embraces us with open Arms;*
Is won with eaſe; too laviſh of her Charms:
Virtue, *more coy, by Order of the Gods,*
On Mountains hard to climb, has fix'd her calm Abodes:
A rocky rough Aſcent th' Acceſs denies:
And horrid are the Paths that lead to Virtues *Joys.*
But he who bravely gains the Mountains Height
Finds bliſsful Plains his Labours to requite,
And drowns paſt Toils in Floods of vaſt Delight.

And *Epicharmus* ſays likewiſe,

The niggard Gods do nothing freely give;
Our Labours pay for all that we receive.

And in another Place the ſame Author ſays,

Pure unmix'd Pleaſure never on Man flows;
But daſh'd with dire Diſeaſes, Wants, and Woes.

And the learned *Prodicus* is of the ſame Opinion

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in the Book he has written of the Life of *Hercules*: For, if I remember aright, he says, that *Hercules*, being grown up to the Years of Adolescency, the Time when Youths beginning to be at their own Dispofal, begin likewise to give Promises, whether during the Remainder of their Life, they will be inclined to good or ill, being retired into a Solitude, and perplexed with an extream Irresolution concerning what Course of Life he ought to follow, two tall Women appeared, and accosted him: One of them had a very good Mien, which seemed to confess an inward Goodness: All her Allurements were natural; a wonderful Modesty appeared in her Eyes, in all her Actions and Behaviour; and she was very decently arrayed in white. The other had an engaging jolly Look, and seemed very nice and tender: She was painted, to render her Complexion more vermilion and more white: She forced her natural Shape that she might appear more strait and upright, her Eyes were full of Assurance and Confidence; and she was dressed to Advantage, to set off her Beauty: She often looked on herself, and took Notice whether any cast their Eyes upon her; and now and then she would regard her Shadow. When they were come near to *Hercules*, this last being desirous to get to him before the other, who always kept walking the same sober Pace, stept before her, and coming near the youthful Heroe, said to him. I have observed, my dear *Hercules*, that thou hast been long in Doubt concerning what Sort of Life it will be best for thee to betake thyself to: If thou wilt enter into Friendship with me, I will guide

This being spoken after the Manner of the Athenians, is about the Age of eighteen Years.

Voluptuousness and Virtue present themselves to Hercules.

Speech of Voluptuousness.

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guide thee in the most easy and delightful Way: There can be no Pleasure of which thou shalt not taste, and no Trouble shall dare approach thee. Thou shalt not disturb thy Tranquility with Wars, nor with the Bustle of the World: Thou shalt have nothing to do but to fare deliciously, to content thy Eyes and thy Ears, to smell the Fragrancy of Odours, to touch delightful Things; to chuse the Loves thou thinkest most charming, to sleep on Beds of Down, and to reflect on the Happiness of having all these Enjoyments, without the least Uneasiness. And be not distrustful that the Means of having these Enjoyments will sometimes fail thee, nor fear that I will reduce thee to the Necessity of labouring either with the Body or with the Mind, to have them: Others shall labour for thee, nor shalt thou scruple to embrace all Opportunities of promoting thy own Interest: I give my Followers leave to take their Advantages wherever they can. *Hercules* hearing her speak thus, asked her Name; and she answered, They who love me, call me *Happiness*; but my Enemies endeavour to blacken me with the odious Name of *Voluptuousness*. Mean while the other Woman drew near to him, and speaking in her turn, said thus.

Speech of Virtue.

I likewise, *Hercules*, am come to thee, because I very well know thy Extraction, and have observed thy good Inclinations in the Exercises of thy Infancy: And this makes me hope, that if thou wilt follow me, it will not be long ere thou performest great Actions, and I am certain that some of the Glory will redound to me. I will not impose upon thee with the alluring Promises and beautiful Illusions of Pleasures and Delights, but will tell thee the Truth of Things, and how the Gods have ordered them. Whatever is glorious and excellent in

No Good without Trouble.

the

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the World cannot be acquired without Care and Labour: The Gods give no real Good, no true Happineſs to Men on any other Terms: And if thou deſireſt to render the Gods propitious to thee, thou muſt adore them: If thou deſireſt to be loved by thy Friends, thou muſt do ſomething to oblige them: If thou wouldeſt be honoured by a Republick, thou muſt imploy thyſelf in her Service: If thou wouldeſt gain the Eſteem of all *Greece*, thou muſt endeavour to do ſome Service to all *Greece*: If thou deſireſt to reap the Fruits of the Earth, thou muſt cultivate it: If thou wouldeſt enrich thyſelf by Flocks and Herds, thou muſt tend them carefully: If thou wouldeſt make thy Fortune by Arms, and put thyſelf in a Condition to defend thy Friends, and to ſubdue thy Enemies, thou muſt ſtudy the Art of War under thoſe that know it, and after having attained that Knowledge, thou muſt learn to make a good Uſe of it: If thou wouldeſt have thy Body dexterous and pliable to do whatever thou pleaſeſt, thou muſt exerciſe it with Labour and Sweat.

Upon theſe Words, as *Prodicus* relates it, *Voluptuouſneſs* interrupted *Virtue*, and ſaid, Doſt thou hear, *Hercules*, through how long and painful a Way ſhe pretends to lead thee to Pleaſures? I will teach thee one that is ſhorter and more eaſy. Here *Virtue*, reſuming the Diſcourſe, ſaid to her. Oh miſerable Wretch! what Pleaſures doſt thou know? Thou, who wilt do nothing to acquire them; thou who crameſt thyſelf with all Sorts of Delicacies, even before thou deſireſt them: Thou eateſt before thou art Hungry, thou drinkeſt before thou art Dry: Thou muſt have Cooks, that thou mayeſt eat exquiſitely, and that thou mayeſt drink with Pleaſure, thou ſendeſt for rich Wines from far, and muſt have Ice in Summer. Thou art not ſatisfied with

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with Quilts to Sleep on, thou muſt have ſumptuous and coſtly Beds, and Carpets on the Floor: For thou goeſt not to Sleep becauſe thou art wearied with Labour, but becauſe thou haſt nothing to do. In the Pleaſures of Love, thou anticipateſt the Need of Nature, and uſeſt all Sorts of Incentives to provoke thee to that fleeting ſenſual Delight. Thou makeſt Uſe of Men as of Women: For thus it is that thou uſeſt thy Friends. Thou defileſt thyſelf all Night with a thouſand Pollutions; and drowneſt thyſelf in Sleep during the more delightful and moſt uſeful Part of the Day. And though thou art immortal, the Gods have baniſhed thee from their Company, and among Men, the Good deſpiſe thee. Thou boaſteſt that thou art happy, and yet thou haſt never heard what is moſt charming to all Ears, I mean, the Praiſe of our own ſelves: Thou haſt never ſeen what is taken for the moſt agreeable Object in the whole World: I mean, any noble Work of our own Hands. Who then can give Credit to thy Words, and who of ſound Judgment would liſt himſelf in thy Train, or aſſociate himſelf with thy Followers? The young among them are effeminate, and without Vigour; the old, ſtupified, and without Prudence. In the Flower of their Age they live deliciouſly, and without taking any Pains, and in their declining Years, they are oppreſſed with Labours and Miſeries. They are aſhamed of their paſt Actions, afflicted at their preſent Condition, and conſume themſelves away with a vain Regret for having taken all their Enjoyments in their Youth, and for having reſerved all the Inconveniencies for the laſt Moments of their Life. But I keep Company with the Gods and with good Men: Without me, nothing excellent is done in Heaven, nor

What is the true Pleaſure of the Sight and Hearing.

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nor on Earth: Nothing is in greater Esteem than I am, either with the immortal Gods, or with the Men that know me. I am to them who work, a most agreeable Companion of their Labours: I am to Masters of Families a faithful Guard of their Houses: I am aiding in successfully carrying on the Affairs of Peace: I lend a sure Assistance in the Enterprizes of War: I have a great Share in the strictest Friendships. Though the Repasts of my Friends are easily got ready, they nevertheless find in them the true Pleasure of Eating and Drinking, because they never eat nor drink, but to satisfy their Hunger and Thirst. Sleep is incomparably more sweet to them, than to those who do not Labour; and nevertheless, they shake it easily off, and lose not by it the Opportunities of performing their Duty. The Young have the Pleasure of being praised by the Old, the Old of being honoured by the Young, and the Remembrance of past Actions gives them no less Satisfaction, than the good Success of their present Affairs. Thus by my Means they are favoured by the Gods, cherished by their Friends, honoured by their Country, and when their fatal Hour arrives, they remain not buried in Oblivion, but a glorious Reputation makes them flourish eternally in the Memory of all Men. Thou therefore, generous *Hercules*, thou, whose Birth is so illustrious, even thou mayest acquire this wonderous Happiness, if thou wilt do what I have told thee. And this, *Aristippus*, was the Instruction, which, as *Prodicus* says, *Virtue* gave the young *Hercules*. Thou mayest believe that he embellished the Thoughts with more noble Expressions than I do: But, however, it is reasonable that thou too shouldest make thy Advantage of these Instructions, and that from this Time thou shouldest think of the future.

Socrates

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Socrates seeing his eldeſt Son *Lamprocles* in a Rage with his Mother, ſpoke to him in this manner. Come hither, Son: Haſt thou never heard of a certain ſort of Men, who are called Ungrateful. Very often, anſwered the young Man. And doſt thou know, ſaid *Socrates*, why they are called ſo? We call a Man ungrateful, anſwered *Lamprocles*, who having received a Kindneſs, does not return the like, if Occaſion offers. Methinks therefore, ſaid *Socrates*, Ingratitude is a kind of Injuſtice? I think ſo too, anſwered *Lamprocles*. *Socrates* went on; Haſt thou never conſidered of what Nature this Injuſtice is? For ſince it is an Injuſtice to treat our Friends ill, and on the contrary, a piece of Juſtice to do Miſchief to our Enemies, may not it be ſaid with like Reaſon, that it is an Injuſtice to be ungrateful towards our Friends, and that it is Juſt to be ungrateful towards our Enemies? *Lamprocles* anſwered, I have maturely conſidered this, and methinks 'tis abſolutely an Injuſtice to be ungrateful, either to a Friend, or an Enemy. If then, purſued *Socrates*, Ingratitude be an Injuſtice, it follows that the greater the Favours are which we have received, the greater is the Injuſtice in not acknowledging them. *Lamprocles* granted this Conſequence, and *Socrates* continued. Can there be any ſtricter Obligations than thoſe that Children have to their Fathers and Mothers? For they gave them a Being, and put them in a Condition to behold all the Wonders of Nature, and to partake of the many good Things which the Gods have given to Men, and which are ſo delightful, that there is not any thing that all Men more dread, than

Diſcourſe of Socrates with his eldeſt Son Lamprocles touching the reſpect due to Parents.

Ingratitude is an Injuſtice.

How much we are obliged to our Parents.

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than to leave them, insomuch that Republicks have ordained Death to be the Punishment of the most enormous Crimes, because there is nothing more terrible to put a stop to the Rage of the Wicked, than the Apprehension of Death. Thou knowest very well too, that 'tis not the Pleasure of Love that inclines Men to marry: There are too many other Remedies for that Passion; the Streets and the Houses are full of them: But we consider, with great Care, which are the Women by whom we may hope to have fine Children, and those are they whom we take. After this the chief Care of the Husband is to maintain his Wife, and to provide for his Children Things useful for Life, in the greatest Abundance he can: On the other hand, the Wife receives into her Bowels so heavy a Burthen, and bears it about with a great deal of Trouble and Danger: She gives it part of her Nourishment and Life; and after having suffered the sharpest Pangs at the Moment of its Birth, she gives it Suck, and continues her Care and Love to it. All this she does, without having ever received the least Pleasure from a Creature so void of Reason, that it knows not even her that is so good to it, nor can ask her for its own Necessities. She does as it were divine, what is fit or necessary for it, and endeavours to give it to her Babe: Night and Day she is imployed in serving it, and sees not what Reward she shall have for all her Labours. After this, when the Children are come to an Age fit to be instructed, the Fathers teach them all the good Things they can for the Conduct of their Life: And if they know any Man more capable to instruct them than themselves, they send them to him, without regard to the Expence, giving Proofs by all Sorts of Ways how glad they should be

Duty of a Husband.

Troubles of Women from their Children.

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to see them honest Men. Certainly, answered *Lamprocles*, if my Mother had done all this, and a hundred Times as much, no Man could suffer her ill Humours. Dost not thou think, said *Socrates*, That the Anger of a Beast is much more difficult to support than that of a Mother? Not of a Mother like her, said *Lamprocles*. *Socrates* continued; What strange Thing hath she done to thee, hath she bit thee, hath she kick'd thee, as Beasts do when they are angry? *Lamprocles* answered, she has a Tongue that no Mortal can suffer. And thou, replied *Socrates*, how many Crosses didst thou give her in thy Infancy, by thy continual Bawling, and importunate Actions, how much Trouble by Night and by Day: How much Affliction in thy Illnesses? At worst, answered *Lamprocles*, I never did nor said any thing that might make her blush. Alas! said *Socrates*, is it more difficult for thee to hear in Patience the hasty Expressions of thy Mother, than it is for the Comedians to hear what they say to one another on the Stage, when they fall into the most injurious Reproaches: For they easily suffer it, knowing well that when one reviles another, he reviles him not with an Intent to injure him; and when one threatens another, he threatens him not with Design to do him any Harm? Thou who art fully convinced likewise of the Intentions of thy Mother, and who knowest very well that the hard Words she gives thee do not proceed from Hate; but that she has a great Affection for thee, how canst thou then be angry with her? Is it because thou imaginest that she wishes thee ill? Not in the least, answered *Lamprocles*, I never had such a Thought. What, continued *Socrates*, a Mother that loves thee; a Mother who in thy Sickness does all she can to recover

This was Xantippe.

How we ought to take ill Usage from our Parents.

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cover thy Health, who takes care that thou want for nothing, who makes so many Vows to the Gods for thee; thou sayest this is an ill Mother? In Truth, if thou canst not live with her, I will say thou canst not live at thy Ease. In short, dost thou believe thou oughtest to have any Condescension or Respect for any one? Or dost thou not care for any Man's Favour and Goodwill, neither for that of a General, or of any other Magistrate? On the contrary, said *Lamprocles*, I am very careful to gain the Goodwill of all Men. Perhaps thou wouldest get the Goodwill of thy Neighbour, to the End he might give thee Fire when thou wantest it: Or in case any Misfortune should happen to thee, that he might speedily relieve thee? Yes, I would. And if thou wert travelling with any Man, either by Sea or Land, wouldest thou think it indifferent to be loved by him, or not? No indeed. Thou art then such a Wretch, said *Socrates*, that thou wouldest take Pains to acquire the Goodwill of those Persons, and thou wilt do nothing to please thy Mother, who loves thee incomparably better than they? Knowest thou not that the Republick concerns not her self with common Ingratitudes, that she takes no Cognizance of such Crimes, and that she neglects to punish those who do not return the Civilities they receive? But if any one be disrespectful to his Parents, there is a Punishment for such Ingratitude; the Laws reject him as an Outlaw, and permit him not to be received into any publick Office, because it is not believed that a Sacrifice, offered by an impious Hand, can be acceptable to the Gods, or profitable to the Republick. 'Tis not believed that such a Man can be capable to perform any great Action, or to distribute Justice. The same Punishment is ordained likewise for those, who after the Death of their Parents neglect to honour

Ingratitude to Parents punished by the Laws.

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nour their Funerals: And this is particularly examined into, in the Inquiry that is made into the Lives of ſuch as ſtand Candidates for Offices. Therefore, my Son, if thou be wiſe, thou wilt pray to the Gods to pardon thee the Offences thou haſt committed againſt thy Mother, to the End they may not refuſe thee their Favours, perceiving thee to be ungrateful. Take care likewiſe that Men may not diſcover the Contempt thou ſhoweſt her; for then wouldeſt thou be blamed and abandoned by all the World: And if it were ſuſpected that thou didſt return with Ingratitude the Benefits of thy Parents, no Man could believe thou wouldeſt be grateful for the good Turns that others might do thee.

Diſcourſe of Socrates with Chærecrates, touching Brotherly Love.

Two Brothers, whoſe Names were *Chærephon* and *Chærecrates*, were at Enmity with each other. *Socrates* was acquainted with them, and had a great Mind to make them Friends: Meeting therefore with *Chærecrates*, he accoſted him thus. Art thou too one of thoſe who prefer the being Rich to the having a Brother; and who do not conſider that Riches being inanimate Things, have Need of being defended, whereas a Brother is himſelf a good Defence; and after all, that there is more Money than Brothers? For is it not extravagant in ſuch Men to imagine, that a Brother does them wrong, becauſe they enjoy not his Eſtate? Why ſay they not likewiſe, that all the World does them Wrong, becauſe they are not in Poſſeſſion of what belongs to the reſt of Mankind? But they believe with great Reaſon, that it is better to live in Society, and to be aſſured in a moderate Eſtate, than to have wholly to themſelves all that their Neighbours enjoy, and to be expoſed to the Dangers that are inſeparable from Solitude. Nevertheleſs, they are not of the ſame Opinion as to the Company of their Brothers. If they are

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are rich, they buy themſelves Slaves to ſerve them, they procure themſelves Friends to ſtand by them: But for their Brothers, they neglect them; as if a Brother were not ſo fit to make a Friend of, as another Man. And yet it is a great Advantage to Friendſhip, to have been born of the ſame Parents, and brought up together; ſince even Beaſts retain ſome Inclination for their Brother Beaſts that are fed with them. Beſides, a Man who hath a Brother is the more regarded for it, and Men are more cautious to offend him. *Chærecrates* anſwered him thus. You are indeed in the right to ſay, that a good Brother is a great Happineſs: And unleſs there be an extreme Cauſe of Diſſenſion, I think that Brothers ought a little to bear with one another, and not part on a ſlight Occaſion: But when a Brother fails in all Things, and is quite the contrary of what he ought to be, would you have a Man do what is impoſſible, and continue in good Intelligence with him? *Socrates* replied: Does your Brother give Offence to all the World as well as to you? Does no Body give him a good Word? That, ſaid *Chærecrates*, is one of the chief Cauſes of the Hatred I bear him: For he is cunning enough to pleaſe others; but whenever we two happen to meet, you would think his ſole Deſign were to fall out with me. *Socrates* replied: Does not this proceed from what I am going to ſay? When any Man would make Uſe of a Horſe, and knows not how to govern him, he can expect nothing from him but Trouble: Thus if we know not in what Manner to behave ourſelves toward our Brother, what think you we can expect from him but Uneaſineſs? Why, do you imagine, ſaid *Chærecrates*, that I am ignorant in what Manner I ought to carry myſelf to a Brother, ſince I can ſhew him as much Love and Reſpect, both in my Words and Actions, as he can ſhew me in his? But when I ſee a Man endeavour to diſoblige me all

Manner

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Manner of Ways, ſhall I expreſs any Good will for him? No: This is what I cannot do, and will not ſo much as endeavour it. You make me wonder, ſaid *Socrates*, and if you had a Dog that were good to keep your Flocks, who ſhould fawn on your Shepherds, and grin his Teeth and ſnarl whenever you come in his Way, is it not true, that inſtead of being angry with him, you would make much of him to bring him to know you? Now you ſay that a good Brother is a great Happineſs; you confeſs that you know how to oblige, and yet you put it not in Practice, to reconcile yourſelf with *Chærephon*. I fear I have not Cunning enough to compaſs it. Methinks, ſaid *Socrates*, there would be no Need of any extraordinary Cunning in the Matter; and am certain that you have enough to engage him to wiſh you well, and to have a great Value for you. Pray, cried *Chærecrates*, if you know any Art I have to make myſelf beloved, let me know it immediately, for hitherto I never perceived any ſuch Thing. Anſwer me, ſaid *Socrates*, If you deſired that one of your Friends ſhould invite you to his Feaſt, when he offered a Sacrifice, what Courſe would you take? I would begin firſt to invite him to mine. And if you would oblige him to take Care of your Affairs in your Abſence on a Journey, what would you do? I would take Care of his firſt, during his Abſence. And if you would have a Foreigner receive you in his Family, when you come into his Country, what Courſe would you take? I would make him welcome at my Houſe when he came to *Athens*, and would endeavour to further the Diſpatch of his Buſineſs, that he might do me the like Favour when I ſhould be in the City where he lives. Had ſaid *Socrates*, you know all the Arts of ingratiating yourſelf, and yet will not own it. But perhaps you ſcruple to make your Application to your Brother,

Means to make ourſelves loved.

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Brother, and fear you will be valued the leſs for it: But, in my Opinion, a Man deſerves to be honoured who begins firſt to do Hurt to his Enemies, and Good to his Friends: And if I had thought that *Chærephon* had been more proper than you to propoſe the Reconciliation, I would have endeavoured to have perſuaded him to prevent you: But I take you to be more fit to manage this Matter, and believe you will bring it to paſs rather than he. What you ſay is abſurd, and unworthy of you, replied *Chærecrates:* Would you have me break the Ice, I who am the younger Brother? Do you forget that among all Nations the Honour to begin, is reſerved to the Elder? How do you mean, ſaid *Socrates*, muſt not a younger Brother give the Precedency to the Elder? Muſt he not riſe up when he comes in, give him the beſt Place, and hold his Peace to let him ſpeak? Delay therefore no longer to do what I bid you, go and try to appeaſe your Brother: He will receive you with open Arms: It is enough, that he is a Friend to Honour, and of a generous Temper: For as there is no readier Way to gain the Good will of the Mean and Poor, than by being liberal to them; ſo nothing has more Power over the Mind of a Man of Honour and Condition, than to treat him with Reſpect and Friendſhip. *Chærecrates* objected: But when I have done what you ſay, if my Brother ſhould not be better tempered, what then? What Harm would it be to you? ſaid *Socrates:* It will ſhew your Goodneſs, and that you love him, and make him appear to be ill-natured, and not deſerving to be obliged by any Man. But I am of Opinion this will not happen, and when he ſees that you attack him with Civilities and good Offices, I am certain he will endeavour to get the better of you in ſo kind and generous a Contention. You are now in the moſt wretched Condition imaginable: It is as if the Hands which God has given

us

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us reciprocally to aid each other, were employed only to hinder one another: Or as if the Feet, which by the Divine Providence were made to assist each other in walking, were busied only in preventing one another from going forward. Would it not then be a great Folly, and at the same Time a great Misfortune, to turn to our Disadvantage, what was made only for our Utility?

Advantages of brotherly Love.

Now it is certain that God has given us Brothers only for our Good; and that two Brothers are a greater Advantage to one another, than it can be to either of them to have two Hands, two Feet, two Eyes, and other the like Members, which are double in our Body, and that Nature has rendered as Brothers. For the Hands cannot at the same Time reach two Things, several Fathoms distant from one another, the Feet cannot stretch themselves from the End of one Fathom to another: The Eyes, which seem to discover from so far, cannot at the same Time see the fore and hind Part of the same Object: But when two Brothers are good Friends, no Distance can hinder them from serving each other.

Discourse of Socrates concerning Friendship.

I remember likewise a Discourse which I have heard him make concerning Friendship, and that may be of great Use to instruct us how we ought to procure ourselves Friends, and how to live with them. He said, that most Men agree, that a true Friend is a precious Treasure, and that nevertheless, there is nothing about which we give ourselves so little Trouble, as to make Men our Friends. For we take Care to buy Houses, Lands, Slaves, Flocks, and Household-goods, and when we have them, we endeavour to keep them: But for a Friend, which is allowed to be a great Happiness, none give themselves any Trouble to get any, or to preserve

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preſerve thoſe they have. Nay, ſome Men are ſo void of Reaſon, that if one of their Friends and one of their Slaves fall Sick at the ſame Time, they neglect their Friend, and have Recourſe to the Phyſician and Remedies for their Slave; And if they both happen to die, they will be concerned for the Death of their Slave, believing they have had a Loſs, and not be troubled for the Death of their Friend. They take Care of the leaſt Part of their Eſtate, and viſit it often; but they neglect their Friends that are in Neceſſity. In ſhort, though they have many Eſtates, they know them all; and though they have but few Friends, yet they know not the Number of them; Inſomuch, that if they are deſired to name them, they are puzzled immediately, ſo little are they in their Thoughts. Nevertheleſs, there is nothing comparable to a good Friend; no Slave is ſo affectionate to our Perſon or Intereſt; no Horſe can render us ſo great Service: In a Word, nothing is ſo uſeful to us in all Occaſions. For a true Friend ſupplies all the Defects of his Friend, either in the Conduct of his private Affairs, or in the Management of the Publick. If his Friend be obliged to do a Kindneſs to any Man, he puts him in the Way of it: If he be aſſaulted with any Danger, he immediately flies to his Relief: At one Time, he gives him Part of his Eſtate, at another he aſſiſts him with his Hands: Sometimes he helps him to perſuade, ſometimes he aids him to compel: He adds to his Joy in proſperous Accidents, and ſhares his Sorrows in Adverſity. The Uſe a Man may make of his Hands, his Eyes, his Ears, his Feet, is a Trifle in Compariſon of the Service a Friend may render him: For often what we cannot do for our own Advantage, what we have not ſeen, nor thought, nor heard of, when our own Intereſts were concerned, what we have not purſued for ourſelves, a Friend has

Excellence of a good Friend.

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has done for his Friend. And yet some will take a great deal of Pains about a Tree, that they may have the Fruit of it, but most Men cultivate their Friends very negligently, who are nevertheless the most fruitful Trees, and bear the fairest and the best of Fruits.

Of the Worth or Value of Friends.

I remember too I have heard a Discourse, in which he exhorted his Hearers to examine themselves, that they might know what Value their Friends might set upon them: For seeing a Man who had abandoned his Friend in extreme Poverty, he asked *Antisthenes* this Question, in Presence of that very Man, and several others. Can we set a Price upon Friends as we do upon Slaves? One Slave may be worth twenty Crowns, another not worth Five: One will cost fifty Crowns, another will yield a hundred. Nay, they say that *Nicias*, the Son of *Niceratus*, gave even six hundred Crowns for one Slave, to be Inspector of his Silver Mines. Dost thou think we might likewise set Prices upon Friends? *Antisthenes* answered, I believe we may: For there are some Men by whom I would rather chuse to be loved, than to have twenty Crowns: Others for whose Affection I would not spend five. I know some too for whose Friendship I would give all I am worth. If it be so, said *Socrates*, it would be well that each Man should consider how much he can be worth for his Friends; and that he should endeavour to render himself as valuable as he can in their Regard, to the End they might not abandon him, for I hear one complain that his Friend has betrayed him; another, that he whom he thought faithful, has preferred a small Gain to the Preservation of his Friendship. I reflect on these Stories, and ask, whether, as we sell a good-for-nothing Slave for what we can get for him, we are not likewise tempted to get rid of an ill Friend, when

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we are offered more for him than he is worth? But I do not see that Men part with their good Slaves, nor betray their good Friends.

Of the Choice of Friends.

The following Conversation of *Socrates* with *Critobulus* may teach us, how we ought to try Friends, and with whom it is good to contract Friendship. If we were to chuse a Friend, said he to him, what precaution ought we to take? Ought we not to look out for a Man who is not given to Luxury, to Drunkenness, to Women, or to Idleness? For with these Vices he could never be very useful to his Friend, nor to himself. That is certain, answered *Critobulus*. Then, said *Socrates*, if we found a Man that loved to live Great, though he had not an Estate to support the Expence, and who having daily Occasion to employ the Purses of his Friends, should shew by his Actions, that whatever you lend him is so much lost, and that if you do not lend him, he will take it ill of you, dost thou not think that such a Man would be very improper to make a Friend of? There is no Doubt of it, said *Critobulus*. And if we found another, continued *Socrates*, who was saving of what he had, but who on the other Hand was so covetous, that it would not be good to have any thing to do with him, because he would always be very ready to receive, and never to give again? In my Opinion, said *Critobulus*, this would be a worse Friend than the former. And if we should find a Man, who was so carried away with the Desire of enriching himself, that he applied his Mind to nothing else, but getting all he could scrape together. We ought not to have any thing to do with him neither, answered *Critobulus*, for he would be good to no Man but himself. *Socrates* continued, if we found a quarrelsome Man, who was every Day like to engage all his

Vices repugnant to Friendship.

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his Friends in new Broils and Quarrels, what would you think of him? That he ought to be avoided, answered *Critobulus*. And if a Man, said *Socrates*, were free from all these Faults, and were only of a Humour to desire to receive Kindnesses, but never to concern himself to return them, what would you think of him? That neither he would be proper to make a Friend of, replied *Critobulus:* And indeed, after having rejected so many, I can scarce tell whom we should take. We ought to take, said *Socrates*, a Man who were the Reverse of all those we have mentioned; who would be temperate in his Manners, faithful in his Promises, and sincere in all Affairs: Who would think it a Point of Honour not to be out-done in Civilities, so that it would be of Advantage to have to do with him. But how can we be certain of all this, said *Critobulus*, before we have tried him? When we would give our Judgment of Statuaries, we have no Regard, replied *Socrates*, to what they say of themselves, but consider their Works, and he who hath already made good Statues, is the Person of whom we have the best Opinion for those he shall make for the future. Apply this to the Question you asked me, and be assured, that a Man who hath served his former Friends well, will be likely to shew no less Affection for those that come after: As we may strongly conjecture that a Groom, whom we have formerly seen dress Horses very well, is capable of dressing others. But, said *Critobulus*, when we have found a Man worthy of our Choice, how ought we to contract a Friendship with him? In the first Place, answered *Socrates*, we must enquire if the Gods approve of it? But supposing the Gods do not dissuade us, how are we to take this precious Prey? Not by Hunting, as we catch Hares,

What a Friend ought to be.

How to make a Friend.

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ſaid *Socrates*, nor in Nets, as we take Birds, nor by force as we take our Enemies: For it is very difficult to gain any Man's Friendſhip in ſpight of his Teeth, or ſtop him by force, and detain him in Priſon as a Slave, ſeeing ſuch ill Uſage would oblige him rather to wiſh us ill, than to love us. What then ought we to do, purſued *Critobulus?*

Charms to make Friends.

Socrates replyed, it is reported, that there are ſome Words ſo powerful, that they who know them, make themſelves loved by pronouncing them, and that there are likewiſe other Charms for the ſame Purpoſe. And where can one learn theſe Words, added *Critobulus?* Have you not read in *Homer*; anſwered *Socrates*, what the *Syrens* ſaid to enchant *Ulyſſes?* The beginning of it is thus,

Praiſe is a great Charm.

Odyſſ. 12. *Approach, great* Ulyſſes, *thou Ornament of* Greece.

You ſay true, continued *Critobulus*: But did not they ſay as much to others, to ſtop them too? Not at all, ſaid *Socrates*, they enchanted with theſe Words, only the generous Men who were in love with Virtue. I begin to underſtand you, ſaid *Critobulus*, and ſeeing this Charm, which is ſo powerful to enchant and captivate the Mind, is nothing but Praiſe, you mean that we ought to praiſe a Man in ſuch a Manner, that he may not diſtruſt we laugh at him: Otherwiſe, inſtead of gaining his Affection, we ſhall incur his Hatred: For it would be inſupportable to a Man, who knows he is little and weak, to be praiſed for his good Preſence, for being well-ſhaped, and of a robuſt Conſtitution. But do you know no other Charms?

What Praiſe ought to be

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Charms? *Socrates* anſwered, No: But I have indeed heard it ſaid, that *Pericles* knew a great many, by Means of which he charmed the Republick, and made himſelf beloved of all. *Critobulus* continued. By what Means did *Themiſtocles* gain ſo much Eſteem: He uſed no other Charms, ſaid *Socrates*, than the great Services which he rendered to the State. Which is as much as to ſay, replyed *Critobulus*, that to gain the Friendſhip of the Great, we muſt render ourſelves capable to perform great Actions. And could you believe, ſaid *Socrates*, that without any good Quality, it is impoſſible to have a Share in the Friendſhip of Men of Merit? Why not, anſwered *Critobulus?* I have ſeen paltry Rhetoricians beloved by the moſt famous Orators; and Perſons who knew nothing of War, live in Familiarity with great Generals. But have you ſeen Men, who are fit for nothing, (for this is the Queſtion we ſpeak of) gain the Friendſhip of Men of Conſequence? I confeſs, I have not anſwered *Critobulus*; nevertheleſs, ſince it is impoſſible for a Man of no Worth to have the Friendſhip of Men of Condition and Merit: Tell me, if he who becomes a Man of Worth and Deſert, falls at the ſame Time into the Friendſhip of ſuch as are ſo? The Reaſon why you aſk this Queſtion, anſwered *Socrates*, is, becauſe you often ſee Diſſenſions among thoſe who equally cheriſh Honour, and would all of them rather die than commit a baſe Action: And you are ſurprized, that inſtead of living in Friendſhip, they diſagree among themſelves, and treat each other worſe than the vileſt of all Men. This is a Misfortune, added *Critobulus*, that arrives not only among private Men: but Wars frequently break out between the beſt-

A contemptible Man cannot be a Friend of Men of Merit.

Men of Honour are ſometimes at Variance.

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beſt-governed Republicks, where Virtue is in the higheſt eſteem, and where Vice is the moſt diſcountenanced. And certainly, when I repaſs theſe Conſiderations in my Mind, I deſpair of gaining true Friends: For it is impoſſible for the Wicked to cultivate a true Friendſhip among themſelves: Can they who are Ungrateful, Idle, Covetous, Treacherous, and Diſſolute, love one another? For of ſuch I have always thought, that they are by Nature rather inclined to Enmity than Love. Neither can we, as you have very well obſerved, expect a Friendſhip between a virtuous and a vicious Perſon. For how can they who commit Crimes be on good Terms with thoſe who deteſt them? In ſhort, If the Virtuous themſelves are at variance for the firſt Honours of the Republick, if they envy and hate one another, where among Men ſhall we look for Affection and Fidelity, where ſhall we find Perſons that love another? My dear *Critobulus*, replyed *Socrates*, this Matter is very intricate, for Nature hath implanted in Men the Principles of Friendſhip and Diſſenſion. Of Friendſhip, becauſe they ſtand in Need of each other, they have Compaſſion of their Miſeries, they relieve one another in their Neceſſities, and they are grateful for the Aſſiſtances, which they lend each other: Of Diſſenſion, becauſe one and the ſame thing being agreeable to many, they contend to have it, and endeavour to prejudice and thwart one another in their Deſigns. Thus Strife and Anger beget War, Avarice ſtifles Benevolence, and Envy produces Hatred. But Friendſhip overcomes all theſe Difficulties, finds out the Virtuous, and unites them together. For by a Motive of Virtue they

There is no Friendſhip among the Wicked.

Men are naturally inclined to Hatred and to Love.

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they chuſe rather to live quietly in a mean Condition, than to gain the Empire of the whole Earth by the Calamities of War. When they are pinched with Hunger or Thirſt, they endure them with Conſtancy, until they can relieve themſelves without being troubleſome to any Man. How violent ſoever their Deſires be for the Enjoyments of Love, they have Government enough of themſelves to do nothing contrary to their Duty. They enjoy what is lawfully their own, and are ſo far from uſurping the Rights and Properties of others, that they even give them Part of what they have. They agree their Differences in ſuch a Manner, that all are Gainers, and no Man has Reaſon to complain. They are never tranſported with Anger ſo far as to commit any Action, for which they need be ſorry. Envy is a Paſſion they are ignorant of, becauſe they live in a mutual Communication of what they poſſeſs, and conſider what belongs to their Friends, as Things in their own Poſſeſſion. From hence you ſee that the Virtuous do not only not oppoſe, but that they aid one another in the Employments of the Republick. For they who ſeek for Honours and great Offices only to have an Opportunity of enriching themſelves, and exerciſing a cruel Tyranny, or to live an eaſy and voluptuous Life, are certainly very wicked and unjuſt, nor can they ever live in Friendſhip with any Man. But why ſhould he who deſires Honour and Power with no other View, but only the better to defend himſelf from the wicked, to aſſiſt his Friends, or to be ſerviceable to his Country, why ſhould ſuch a Man, I ſay, not agree with another, whoſe Intentions are the ſame with his own? Is it becauſe he would be leſs capable to ſerve the Republick, if he had virtuous Aſſociates in the Adminiſtration of Affairs? If in public Games and Exerciſes, the Strong were permitted to enter into a League againſt the Weaker, they would infallibly be

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be Victors in all the Games, and win all the Prizes: For which Reaſon they are not ſuffered to do ſo. But in Affairs of State, where Men of Probity and Virtue bear Sway, as no Man is hindered from joining with whom he pleaſes, to do Good to the Republick, is it not more advantagious when we concern ourſelves in the Government, to make Friendſhips with Men of Honour and Integrity, and to have them for our Aſſociates rather than our Adverſaries? For it is manifeſt, That when a Man is engaged in a Quarrel, he ought to have ſome to aſſiſt him, and that he will have Need of a great many, if he have to do with valiant and powerful Enemies. Beſides, he muſt be liberal, and give Preſents to thoſe who take his Part, that they may be the more zealous to ſerve him. Now it is beyond all Diſpute, that it is much better to oblige the Good, though they are but a few, than the Wicked, of whom there is a great Number; becauſe ill Men are generally inſatiable. However it be, *Critobulus*, take Courage, endeavour only to become Virtuous, and then boldly purſue the Friendſhip of honeſt Men; this is a Sort of Chace in which I may be helpful to you, becauſe I am naturally inclined to Love. I ſtrive with all Power to gain thoſe I love, and lay out all my Skill to make myſelf beloved by them. I endeavour to kindle in their Minds a Flame like mine, and a Deſire for my Company, as ardently as mine for theirs. You ſtand in Need of this Addreſs, when you would contract a Friendſhip with any one. Hide not then the Secrets of your Soul from me, but let me know who they are for whom you have an Inclination: For having made it my Study to pleaſe thoſe who were pleaſing to me, I believe I have gained ſome Experience in the Purſuit of Men. I have longed a great while, ſaid *Critobulus*, to learn this Art; chiefly,

Socrates ſkilful in Love.

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chiefly, if it may be employed to gain thoſe who are valuable for the Graces of the Mind, as well as thoſe who are deſirable for the Beauty of Body. *Socrates* replied: But my Method forbids to uſe Violence towards thoſe whoſe Beauty you admire, and I am of Opinion, that all Men fled from *Scylla*, becauſe ſhe detained them by Force: Whereas the *Syrens* offering no Violence to any Man, and employing only their tuneful Voices to detain thoſe who paſſed near them, all ſtopt to hear, and ſuffered themſelves to be inſenſibly charmed by the Muſick of their Songs. Be ſure, ſaid *Critobulus*, that I will uſe no Violence to them, whoſe Friendſhip I would gain, and therefore delay no longer to teach me your Art. Will you give me your Word likewiſe, ſaid *Socrates*, that you will not approach with your Mouth to theirs? I promiſe you, ſaid *Critobulus*, I will not, unleſs they are very beautiful Perſons. You miſtake the Matter, replied *Socrates*, the beautiful permit not thoſe Liberties; but the ugly grant them freely enough, knowing well that if any Beauty be aſcribed to them, it is only the Beauty of the Mind. I will not trangreſs in this Point, ſaid *Critobulus*; only impart to me the Secret of gaining your Friends. When you would contract a Friendſhip with any one, ſaid *Socrates*, you muſt give me Leave to tell him, that you have a great Value for him, and that you deſire to be his Friend. With all my Heart, anſwered *Critobulus*, for ſure no Man can wiſh Ill to another who Eſteems him. And if I add beſides, continued *Socrates*, that becauſe you ſet a great Value on his Merit, you have much Affection for his Perſon, will you not take it amiſs? Not at all, ſaid *Critobulus*,

Violence contrary to Friendſhip.

Laſcivious Liberties are alſo Enemies to Friendſhip

How to make Love for another.

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Critobulus, for I find within myſelf, that I have a great Kindneſs for thoſe who are affectionate toward me. I may then, ſaid *Socrates*, ſpeak in that Manner to thoſe whom you deſire to Love: But will you likewiſe give me Leave to tell him, that your greateſt Pleaſure is, to have good Friends, that you have ſuch a Regard for them, that you behold their good Actions, with as much Joy, as if you yourſelf had performed them, and that you rejoice at their good Fortune, no leſs than at your own: That you are never weary when you are ſerving them, and that you believe it the Glory of a Man of Honour to ſurpaſs his Friends in Benefits, and his Enemies in Injuries? By this Means, I think I ſhall, be very uſeful to you in procuring you good Friends. Why do you aſk me Leave, ſaid *Critobulus*, as if you might not ſay of me whatever you pleaſe? No indeed, anſwered *Socrates*, and I remember what *Aſpaſia* once ſaid, That Match-makers are ſucceſsful in their Buſineſs, when they tell Truth of the Perſons in whoſe Behalf they woo, but that the Marriages made by their Lies are unfortunate; becauſe they who are deceived hate one another, and hate yet more the Perſon that put them together. And therefore for the ſame Reaſon, I think I ought not to tell Lies in your Praiſe. You are then ſo far only my Friend, replied *Critobulus*: That if I have any good Qualities to make myſelf beloved, you will aſſiſt me; if not, you will invent nothing in my Favour. And do you think, ſaid *Socrates*, that I ſhould do you more Service in giving you falſe Praiſes, than by exhorting you to merit the Praiſe of all Men? If you doubt of this, conſider the Conſequences of it. If I ſhould tell the Owner of a Ship that you are an excellent Pilot, and he upon my Recommendation ſhould

We ought not to Lie in praiſing any Man.

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should give you the Command of his Vessel, what Hopes could you have that you should not perish? Or if I should say publickly, that you are an experienced General, an able Judge, or a great Politician, and if by that Character you should be promoted to the Supream Magistracy, to what Dangers would you expose your own Life, and the Fortune of the State? Or if I should make any private Person believe, that you were a good Oeconomist, and he should trust you with the Care of his Family, would not you be the Ruin of his Estate, and expose yourself to be laughed at? Which is as much as to say, *Critobulus*, that the shortest and surest Way to live with Honour in the World, is to be in Reality what we would appear to be; and if you observe, you will find, that all human Virtues encrease and strengthen themselves by the Practice and Experience of them. Take my Advice then, and labour to acquire them: But if you are of a different Opinion, pray let me know it. I might well be ashamed, answered *Critobulus*, to contradict you: For no good nor solid Objection can be brought against so rational an Assertion.

False Praises are dangerous, and in what.

An excellent Precept.

Socrates had an extream Tenderness for his Friends, and if through Imprudence they fell into any Affliction, he endeavoured to comfort them by his good Counsels: If they laboured under Poverty, he did all he could to relieve them, teaching all Men that they ought mutually to assist one another in Necessity. I will set down some Examples of his Behaviour on these Occasions. Meeting *Aristarchus*, who looked very dejected, he said to him; I see, *Aristarchus*, that something troubles you: But impart

How Socrates rendered good Offices to his Friends.

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impart the Cauſe of your Grief to your Friends, and perhaps we may alleviate your Misfortunes. Indeed, ſaid he, I am in great Affliction: For ſince the late Troubles, many Perſons having fled for Shelter to the * *Piræus*, my Siſters, Nieces, and Couſins have all thrown themſelves upon me, ſo that I have no leſs than fourteen of them to maintain. You know very well that we receive no Profit from our Lands, the Enemies being Maſters of the open Country: Our Houſes in the City are uninhabited, there being at preſent very few Inhabitants left in *Athens:* No Body will buy any Goods, nor lend Money upon Intereſt, and I believe we may as ſoon take it up in the Middle of the Streets, as find where to borrow it. And it is a great Concern to ſee my Relations ready to periſh, while it is impoſſible for me to maintain them in the preſent Scarcity of all Things. *Socrates* having heard him patiently, ſaid to him. How comes it to paſs that *Ceramon*, who hath ſo many Perſons in his Family, finds Means not only to maintain them, but likewiſe to make a great Profit of them, and that you are afraid of Starving to Death, becauſe you have a great many in Family. *Ariſtarchus* anſwered; becauſe *Ceramon* has none but Slaves to take Care of, and I am to provide for Perſons who are free. *Socrates* went on: Whom do you think moſt valuable, *Ceramon*'s Slaves, or the Perſons who are at your Houſe? There is no Compariſon between them, ſaid *Ariſtarchus*. Is it not then a ſhameful Thing, replied *Socrates*, that *Ceramon* ſhould grow rich, having with him thoſe who are leaſt valuable, and that you ſhould be burdened with the Company of thoſe whom you value more? The Slaves that *Ceramon* keeps, follow ſome Trades, ſaid *Ariſtarchus*, but the Perſons I have with me, have had a genteel Education. *Socrates* replied, may not

Cauſe of Ariſtarchus's Melancholy.

* The Port of Athens.

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not he who knows how to do any Thing that is uſeful, be ſaid to know a Trade? Yes certainly. And are not, continued *Socrates*, Oatmeal, Bread, the Cloaths for Men and Women, Caſſocks, Coats, and the like, Things very uſeful? Without Doubt. And do not the Perſons at your Houſe know how to make any of theſe Things? On the contrary, ſaid *Ariſtarchus*, I believe they know how to make all of them. What are you then afraid of, added *Socrates*, ſeeing by one of theſe Trades, which was that of making Oatmeal, *Nauſicides* acquired ſo great an Eſtate, that he is Maſter of many Flocks, and often lends Loans to the Republick. *Cirtbes* keeps all his Family, and lives at his Eaſe upon what he has got by being a Baker. *Demeas*, of the Village of *Colytus*, gets his Livelihood by making Caſſocks; *Menon* by making Cloaks, and moſt of the Inhabitants of *Megara*, by making Coats and ſhort Jackets. I grant all this, ſaid *Ariſtarchus*, they have with them ſome Barbarians whom they have bought, and compel to work; but the Ladies at my Houſe are free, and my Relations: Would you have me ſet them to work? And becauſe they are free and your Relations, ſaid *Socrates*, do you think they ought to do nothing but eat and ſleep? Do you obſerve that they who live thus idle are more content than others? Do you think them more happy than they who imploy themſelves in what is uſeful for Life? Do you find that Idleneſs and Lazineſs help to teach us Things neceſſary, or to retain thoſe we have learnt, or to ſtrengthen the Body, or keep it in Health; or to acquire Riches, or keep what we have got already, and that Labour and Induſtry are good for nothing? Why did your Ladies learn what they know? Did they believe them to be uſeleſs Things, and had they reſolved never to put them in Practice? Or, on the contrary,

People of Condition ought not to be aſhamed to work in their Neceſſity.

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contrary, was it with Deſign to imploy themſelves in thoſe Matters, and to get ſomething by them? Is it a greater Piece of Wiſdom to ſit ſtill, and do nothing, than to buſy ones ſelf in profitable Things? And is it not more reaſonable for a Man to work, than to ſtand with his Arms acroſs, thinking what he ſhall do to live? Shall I tell you my Mind, *Ariſtarchus*; methinks in the Condition you are in, you cannot love your Gueſts, and they can have no true Affection for you; for you think they are a Burden to you, and they perceive you think ſo. And 'tis to be feared that the Diſcontent will encreaſe on both Sides, and that the Senſe of paſt Favours will wear off: But when you ſet them to work, you will begin to love them, becauſe they will bring you ſome Profit: And when they find that you regard them with more Complacency, they will not fail to have more Love for you. The Remembrance of your Kindneſſes will be more grateful to them, and the Obligations they have to you will be the greater. In a Word, you will be kinder Relations, and better Friends. Indeed if what they were to do, was a Thing worthy of Blame, it would be better to die than to ſet about it; but what they can do is honourable, and becoming of their Sex: And whoever knows how to do a Thing well, will acquit himſelf of it with Honour, and Eaſe, and Pleaſure. Therefore defer no longer to make the Propoſal to them, ſince it will be equally advantageous to you and them, and be aſſured they will receive it with Joy and Pleaſure. O Gods! ſaid *Ariſtarchus*, your Words are true, and have made a wonderful Impreſſion on my Mind. But juſt now I would not borrow Money, becauſe I ſaw that when I had ſpent it, I ſhould not be in a Condition to repay it; and at preſent I would be glad to take up ſome upon any Terms, to buy Things neceſſary to ſet our ſelves to work.

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What was propos'd, was forthwith executed: *Ariſtarchus* bought what he wanted, he laid in a Store of Wool, and the Ladies were buſy from Morning to Night. This Occupation diverted their Melancholy, and inſtead of the former Uneaſineſs between them and *Ariſtarchus*, they began to live in a reciprocal Satisfaction: The Ladies loved him as their Protector, and he conſidered them as Perſons who were very uſeful and neceſſary to him. To conclude, ſome time afterwards, *Ariſtarchus* came to ſee *Socrates*, and related the whole Matter to him with great Pleaſure, and told him the Women began to complain that none but he was idle. Why do you not put them in mind, ſaid *Socrates*, of the Fable of the Dog. For in the Days when Beaſts could ſpeak, her Sheep ſaid to a Maſter, You are a ſtrange Man, we yield you Wool, Lambs, and Cheeſe, and yet you give us nothing but what we can get upon the Ground: And the Dog, who brings you in no Profit, is kindly uſed, for you feed him with the ſame Bread you eat your ſelf. The Dog over-hearing this Complaint, anſwered her: It is not without Reaſon that I am uſed ſo well: It is I who protect you; it is I who hinder Thieves from ſtealing you away, and Wolves from ſucking your Blood: If I were not always keeping Watch about you, you would not dare ſo much as to go to feed. This Anſwer was the Reaſon, that the Sheep yielded freely to the Dog, the Honour to which they pretended before. Let theſe Ladies know in like Manner, that you are their Guard, and that you watch over them for their Safety, like a faithful and courageous Dog: Tell them, that becauſe of you no Man dares hurt them, and that it is by your Means, that they live at Eaſe and in Safety.

Fable of the Dog and the Sheep.

Another

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Converſation of Socrates with Eutherus.

Another Time, meeting with one of his old Friends whom he had not ſeen for a great while he enquired of him from whence he came. At preſent, anſwered *Eutherus*, I come not from Abroad; but towards the End of the War, I returned from a Voyage I had made: For after having loſt all the Eſtate I had upon the Frontiers, and having nothing left by my Father in *Attica*, I was forced to Work for my Living; and I believe it better than to be troubleſome to others: Beſides, I can no longer borrow any Thing, having nothing left to Mortgage. And how much longer, ſaid *Socrates*, do you think you ſhall be able to Work for your Living? Alaſs! but a little while, anſwered *Eutherus*. Nevertheleſs, replied *Socrates*, when you come to be old, it will coſt you ſomething to maintain yourſelf, and you will not then be able to earn any Thing. You ſay very true. You were beſt then, continued *Socrates*, employ yourſelf now in Buſineſs that will enable you to lay by ſomething for your old Age, and get into the Service of ſome rich Man, who hath Occaſion for an Oeconomiſt, to have the Inſpection over his Workmen, to gather in his Fruits, to take Care of what belongs to him; that he may Reward you for the Service you do him. *Eutherus* replied, I ſhould find it very difficult to ſubmit to be a Slave. Yet, ſaid *Socrates*, the Magiſtrates in Republicks, and all that are in public Imployments, are not therefore reputed Slaves: On the contrary, they are eſteemed to have more Liberty. Be it how it will, ſaid *Eutherus*, I can never ſubject myſelf to the Blame of another Man. And yet, ſaid *Socrates*, you would be very much puzzled to find any one Action, whoſe every Circumſtance

Miſerable condition of Eutherus.

Fooliſh Shame.

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cumſtance was exempt from Blame. For it is very difficult to be ſo exact as not to fail in ſome Particular, and even tho' we ſhould not have failed, it is hard to eſcape the Cenſure of bad Judges: And I ſhould very much wonder if in what you now do, no Man ſhould find any Thing amiſs. What you are therefore to obſerve, is not to engage with thoſe who make it their Buſineſs to find fault without Reaſon, and to have to do with more equitable Perſons; to undertake what you can perform, to refuſe what ſurpaſſes your Capacity, and when you have undertaken any Thing, to accompliſh it as well as you can. Thus you will be leſs ſubject to Blame, you will find Relief to your Poverty, you will lead an eaſier Life, you will be out of Danger, and you will provide ſufficiently for the Neceſſities of your old Age.

There is nothing ſo well done but it is cenſured.

One Day *Crito* complained to him, that it was very difficult for a Man who would lead a retired Life, to live in *Athens*; for, ſaid he, I am now ſued by ſome Men, tho' I never did them the leaſt Injury, but only becauſe they know that I had rather give them a little Money, than embroil my ſelf in the Troubles of Law: *Socrates* ſaid to him, do you keep Dogs to hinder the Wolves from coming at your Flocks? *Crito* anſwered, You need not doubt but I do. Ought you not likewiſe, replyed *Socrates* to keep a Man who is both willing and able to drive away all thoſe that trouble you without Cauſe? I would with all my Heart, ſaid *Crito*, but I fear, that in the End he would turn againſt me. Why ſo, ſaid *Socrates*; is it not better to ſerve a Man like you, and to receive Favours,

Converſation between Socrates & Crito.

The Rich are a Prey to Backbiters.

Neceſſity of having a Man of Buſineſs in the Family of a great Man.

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Favours from him, than to have him for an Enemy? You may be certain that there are in this City many Men who would think themſelves very happy to be honoured with your Friendſhip. After this they happened to ſee a certain Perſon, named *Archedemus*, who was a Man of very good Parts, eloquent, and extreamly ſkilful in the Management of Affairs; but withal, very poor; for he was not of a Diſpoſition to take all he could get, but he loved honeſt Men, and ſaid, That nothing was more eaſy, than to gain one's Deſire againſt Informers and Sycophants. *Crito* caſt an Eye upon him, and as often as they brought him any Corn, or Wine, or Oil, or any other thing from his Country-houſes, he ſent him ſome of it, when he offered Sacrifices, he invited him to the Feaſts, and ſhewed him many Civilities of the like Nature: *Archedemus*, ſeeing the Doors of that Houſe open to him at all Times, and that he always found ſo favourable a Reception, paid the greateſt Deference to *Crito*, and made it his Buſineſs immediately to enquire into the Characters of thoſe Perſons who gave him any Trouble, and found them to be guilty of many Crimes, and that they had a great Number of Enemies. This encouraged him to take them to Taſk, and he proſecuted one of them for a Crime, which would have ſubjected him to a corporal Puniſhment, or at leaſt to a pecuniary Mulct: This Fellow, who knew his Cauſe to be bad, and that he could not juſtify himſelf, employed all Sorts of Stratagems to get rid of *Archedemus*, who nevertheleſs would not quit him, until the other had diſcharged *Crito*, and likewiſe given him a Sum of Money. He managed ſeveral of his Affairs with like Succeſs, ſo that *Crito* was thought happy in his Friendſhip: And as when a Shepherd hath an excellent Dog, the other Shepherds are glad to bring their Flocks near his, that they may be ſafe likewiſe: So ſeveral of *Crito*'s Friends began to make

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make their Court to him, and begged him to lend them *Archedemus* to defend them. He, for his Part, was glad to oblige *Crito*; and it was obſerved at length, that not only *Crito* lived undiſturbed, but likewiſe all his Friends; and if any one reproached *Archedemus*, that Intereſt had made him a Flatterer of *Crito*, he anſwered him: Which doſt thou think moſt diſhonourable; to do Services to Men of Quality, from whom we have received Favours, and entering into their Friendſhips to declare War againſt ill Men; or to endeavour to prejudice Men of Honour, and to make them our Enemies, that ill Men may be our Friends? From thenceforward *Crito* contracted a ſtrict Friendſhip with *Archedemus*, and all his Friends had likewiſe a great reſpect for him.

Converſation between Socrates & Diodorus.

Socrates ſaid once to *Diodorus*; If one of your Slaves ran away, would you give your ſelf any Trouble to find him? He anſwered, yes certainly, and I would give publick Notice, and promiſe a Reward to any that brought him to me. And if one of them were ſick, would you take care of him, and ſend for Phyſicians to endeavour to ſave his Life? Without doubt I would.

We ought to relieve the Wants of our Friends.

Socrates replyed, And if you ſaw one of your Friends, that is to ſay, a Perſon who renders you a thouſand times more Service than a Slave, reduced to extream Want, ought you not to relieve him? I ſpeak this to you on Account of *Hermogenes*. You very well know he is not ungrateful, and that he would ſcorn to receive the leaſt Favour from you, and not return you the like. You know likewiſe that a great Number of Slaves are not to be valued like one Man who ſerves willingly, who ſerves with Zeal and Affection, and who is not only capable of doing

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doing what he is bid; but who can likewiſe, of himſelf, think of many Things that may be of Service to us: Who reaſons well, who foreſees what may happen, and from whom we may expect to receive good Advice. Now the beſt Managers hold it as a Maxim, that when we find any Thing of Value to be ſold cheap, we ought to buy it. Think of it therefore, for as Times now go, you may procure yourſelf many Friends at a cheap Rate. *Diodorus* replied: You ſay right, and therefore pray ſend *Hermogenes* to me. Excuſe me in that, anſwered *Socrates*; It is better for you to go to him than to ſend for him. This Diſcourſe was the Reaſon that *Diodorus* went to *Hermogenes*, and for a ſmall Gratification obliged him to be his Friend: After which, *Hermogenes* took particular Care to pleaſe *Diodorus*, and ſought all Opportunities of ſerving him, and of giving him Content.

Maxim of good Managers.

BOOK III.

LET us now ſee how *Socrates* was ſerviceable to thoſe who were deſirous to qualify themſelves for Imployments of Truſt and Honour, by adviſing them to apply themſelves diligently to the Knowledge of their Duty.

Having heard, that there was arrived at *Athens* one *Dionyſodorus*, who undertook to teach the Art of War, he made the following Diſcourſe to one of his Friends, who pretended to one of the higheſt Poſts in the Army. It were a ſcandalous Thing, ſaid he to him, for a Man who aims to Command others, to neglect

Dionoſydorus teaches the Art of War.

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neglect ſo fair an Opportunity of learning his Duty: Nay, I think he would rather deſerve to be puniſhed, than the Man who ſhould undertake to make a Statue, without having learned the Sculptor's Trade: For, as in War, the whole Fortune of the Republick is truſted to the General, it is to be preſumed, that his good Conduct will produce good Succeſſes, and that his Faults will be attended with great Misfortunes. And therefore, a Man who ſhould neglect to render himſelf capable of ſuch an Imployment, and yet pretend to it, ought to be ſeverely puniſhed. By theſe Reaſons he perſuaded this young Man to get himſelf inſtructed. Some Time after this, happening to be in Company with him, he ſaid to all who were preſent: If you remember, Gentlemen, *Homer* ſpeaking of *Agamemnon*, gives him the Surname of *Venerable*: And are not you of Opinion that this young Man deſerves to be more reſpected, ſince he knows how to command: For as a Man who can play on the Lute, is a Lutiſt, though he never touches the Inſtrument; and as he who is ſkilled in the Art of Phyſick, is a Phyſician, though he never Practices; ſo this young Man having learnt to command, is become a General, tho' not a Man of us ſhould ever give our Vote to make him ſo. On the contrary, it is in vain for him who knows not how to command, to get himſelf choſen; he will not be one Jot a better General for it, no more than he who knows nothing of Phyſick, is a better Phyſician, becauſe he has the Reputation of being one. Then turning towards the young Man, he went on: But becauſe it may happen that one of us may have the Honour of commanding a Regiment or a Company in the Troops that are to compoſe

Importance of the Office of a General.

He is not a General who commands, but he who knows how to command.

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compoſe your Army, to the End we may not be intirely ignorant of the military Art, pray tell us, with what Maxims he began to inſtruct you: with the ſame as he ended, anſwered the young Man, for he ſhewed me only the Order, that ought to be obſerved in an Army, either in marching, encamping, or fighting. But what is that, ſaid *Socrates*, in Compariſon of the many other Duties incumbent on a General: He muſt beſides, take Care to provide Stores of War? He muſt furniſh the Soldiers with neceſſary Ammunition and Proviſions; he muſt be full of Stratagems, laborious, diligent, patient, quick of Apprehenſion: He muſt be mild and rigorous: He muſt be open and cloſe: He muſt know to preſerve his own, and take what is anothers: He muſt be prodigal and a Ravager; he muſt be liberal and covetous; he muſt be wary and enterprizing. I confeſs that he ought to know likewiſe how to draw up his Troops in order of Battle: And indeed Order and Diſcipline are the moſt important Things in an Army, and without them, it is impoſſible to have any other Service of the Troops, than of a confuſed Heap of Stones, Bricks, Timber and Tiles: But when every Thing is in its due Place, as in a Building, when the Foundations and the Covering are made of Materials that will not rot, and no Wet can Damage, ſuch as are Stones and Tiles, and when the Bricks and the Timber are imployed in their proper Places in the Body of the Edifice, they all together make a Houſe, which we value among our moſt conſiderable Enjoyments. Here the young Man, interrupting him, ſaid: This Compariſon puts me in Mind of another Thing that Generals ought to obſerve; which is, to place their beſt Soldiers

Qualifications of a General.

Excellent Compariſon touching the Order of an Army.

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diers in the first and last Ranks, and the others in the Middle; that those in the first Rank may lead them on, and those in the last push them forward: He has taught you too, said *Socrates*, how to know the good from the bad Soldiers, otherwise this Rule can be of no Use to you: For if you were to reckon Money upon a Table, and were ordered to lay the best at the two Ends, and the worst in the Middle, how could you do this, if you had not been shewn how to distinguish between the good and the bad? Indeed, replied the young Man, he did not teach me what you mention, and I suppose we must learn of ourselves to discern the good Soldiers from the bad. Let us, continued *Socrates*, consider how a General ought to govern himself in this Matter: If he were on an Expedition for Plunder, wherein he expected to get a great deal of Money, ought he not to make the most Covetous march in the Front? If it were an Action of great Peril, ought he not to send the most ambitious, because they are the Men, who out of a Desire of Glory, throw themselves headlong into Dangers? And these you would know easily, for they are forward enough in discovering themselves: But tell me: When this Master shewed you the different Ways of ordering an Army, did he tell you when to make Use of one Way, and when of another? He answered, not at all. And yet, replied *Socrates*, the Order is to be changed according to the different Occasions. He taught me nothing of that, said the young Man. Go to him then, added *Socrates*, and ask him concerning it: For if he know any Thing of the Matter, and have ever so little Honour, he will be ashamed to have taken your Money, and send you away so ill instructed.

Impertinence of some Masters.

Another

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The Duties of a good Prince.

Another Time he asked a General, whom the *Athenians* had lately chosen; why *Homer* calls *Agamemnon* the Pastor of the People? Is it not, said he, because as a Shepherd ought to take Care of his Flocks, that they be well, and want for nothing: So a General ought to take Care to preserve his Soldiers always in Health, to see they be supplied with Provisions, and to bring to a happy Issue the Design that made them take Arms, which is to overcome their Enemies, and to live more happily afterwards? And why does the same Poet praise *Agamemnon* likewise for being,

At once a gracious Prince, and generous Warrior?
ILIAD 3.

For is it not true, that to gain a Prince the Character of being generous and a Warrior, it is not sufficient to be brave in his own Person, and to fight with Intrepidity; but he must likewise animate the whole Army, and be the Cause that every Soldier behave himself like him: And to gain the Reputation of a good and gracious Prince, it is not enough to have secured his private Affairs, he must also take care that Plenty and Happiness reign in all Places of his Dominions. For Kings are not chosen, to take care of themselves only, but to render happy the People who chuse them. All People engage in War only to secure their own Quiet, and chuse Commanders that they may have Guides to conduct them to the End which they propose to themselves: A General therefore ought to render the Road to Happiness easy to them who raise him to that Dignity: This is the most glorious Success he can desire, as nothing can be more ignominious than the contrary. We see by this Discourse, that *Socrates* designing to give the Idea of a good Prince required

The Idea of a good Prince.

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required ſcarce any thing of him but to render his Subjects happy.

Converſation of Socrates with a General of Horſe.

I have been told that he held the following Diſcourſe with a General of the Cavalry. What was your Reaſon, ſaid *Socrates*, to deſire this Office? I cannot think it was that you might march at the Head of the Cavalry: For the Horſe-Archers are to march before you. I cannot believe it was to make yourſelf be known, for no Men are more generally known than Madmen. Perhaps it was becauſe you thought you could render the Cavalry better and make the Troops more ſerviceable than they are, to the End that if the Republick ſhould have Occaſion to uſe them, you might be able to do your Country ſome ſignal Service. That is my Deſign, anſwered the other. It were well you could effect this, ſaid *Socrates*:

The Duty of a General of Horſe.

But does not your Office oblige you to have an Eye on the Horſes and Troopers? Moſt certainly. What Courſe will you then take, continued *Socrates*, to get good Horſes? It is not my Buſineſs to look to that, replied the General, every Trooper muſt take Care for himſelf. And what, ſaid *Socrates*, if they bring you foundered Horſes, or Horſes that are ſo weak and lean, that they cannot keep up with the others, or ſo reſtiff and vicious, that it would be impoſſible to make them keep their Ranks, what Good could you expect from ſuch Cavalry? what Service would you be able to render the State? you are much in the Right, *Socrates*, and I promiſe you I will take Care what Horſes are in my Troops. And will you not have an Eye likewiſe on the Troopers? he anſwered; yes. In my Opinion then, ſaid *Socrates*, the firſt Thing you ought to do is to teach them to mount a Horſe. No Doubt of it, replied the General, for they would the more eaſily eſcape if they ſhould happen to be

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thrown off their Horſes. *Socrates* went on; you ought alſo to make them exerciſe, ſometimes here, ſometimes there, and particularly in Places like thoſe where the Enemy generally is, that they may be good Horſemen in all ſorts of Countries: For when you are to fight, you will not ſend to bid the Enemy come to you in the Plain where you uſed to exerciſe your Horſe. You muſt train them up likewiſe to lance the Spear; and if you would make them very brave Fellows, you muſt inſpire them with a Principle of Honour, and inflame them with Rage againſt the Enemy. Fear not, ſaid he, that I will ſpare my Labour. But have you, reſumed *Socrates*, thought on the Means, to make yourſelf obeyed? for without that, all your Horſes and brave Troopers will ſignify nothing. It is true, ſaid he, but what Means muſt I uſe to prevail on them to be obedient? Know you not, ſaid *Socrates*, that in all Things Men readily obey thoſe whom they believe moſt capable? Thus in our Sickneſs, we moſt willingly ſubmit to the Preſcriptions of the beſt Phyſician: At Sea, to the moſt ſkilful Pilot; and in Affairs of Agriculture, to him who has moſt Experience in it. All this I grant you. It is then to be preſumed that in the Command of the Cavalry, he who makes it appear that he underſtands it beſt, will be the Perſon whom the others will be beſt pleaſed to obey. But if I let them ſee that I am moſt worthy to command, will that be enough to render them obedient to me? yes certainly, ſaid *Socrates*, if you can perſuade them beſides, that their Honour and Safety depend on that Obedience. And how ſhall I be able to make them ſenſible of it? With leſs trouble, anſwered *Socrates*, than it would be to prove that it is better to be virtuous than vicious. Then a General, added the other,

Who they are whom we moſt readily obey.

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other, ought to ſtudy the Art of Speaking well? Do you imagine, ſaid *Socrates*, that he will be able to execute his Office without ſpeaking a Word? It is by Speech that we know what the Laws command us to learn for the Conduct of our Lives: No excellent Knowledge can be attained without the Uſe of Speech: The beſt Method to inſtruct is by Diſcourſe, and they who are thoroughly verſed in the Sciences, ſpeak with the Applauſe of the World: But have you obſerved, continued he, that on all Occaſions, the *Athenians* diſtinguiſh themſelves above all the *Greeks*, and that no Republick can ſhew ſuch Youths as *Athens*? For Example: When we ſend from hence a Choir of Muſicians to the Temple of *Apollo* in the Iſle of *Delos*, it is certain that none ſent from other Cities are comparable to them: Not that the *Athenians* have better Voices than the others, nor that their Bodies are more robuſt and better made: But the Reaſon is, becauſe they are more ambitious of Honour, and this Deſire of Honour excites Men to excellent Actions. Do not you think therefore, that if good Care were taken of our Cavalry, it would not excel that of other Nations, in the Beauty of Arms and Horſes, in Order and good Diſcipline, and in Bravery in Time of Action; provided the *Athenians* were perſuaded that this would acquire them Renown? I am of your Opinion. Go then and take Care of your Troops, ſaid *Socrates*, make them ſerviceable to you, that you may be ſo to the Republick.

The love of Honour makes great Men.

Another Time, *Socrates* meeting *Nicomachides*, coming from the Aſſembly where they had choſen the Magiſtrates, aſked him, of whom they had made choice to

Converſation of Socrates and Nicomachides.

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command the Army? *Nicomachides* answered. Alas! the *Athenians* would not chuse me, me, who have spent all my Life in Arms, and have gone through all the Degrees of a Soldier: Who have been a private Centinel, a Captain, a Colonel of Horse, and am covered all over with Wounds that I have received in Battles, (at these Words he bared his Breast, and shewed the large Scars which were remaining in several Places of his Body) but they have chosen *Antisthenes*, who has never served in the Infantry, who even in the Cavalry never did any Thing remarkable, and whose only Talent consists in knowing how to get Money. So much the better, said *Socrates*, for then the Army will be well paid. A Merchant, replied *Nicomachides*, knows how to get Money as well as he; and does it follow from thence that he is fit to be a General? You take no Notice, replied *Socrates*, that *Antisthenes* is fond of Honour, and desirous to excel all others in whatever he undertakes; which is a very necessary Qualification in a General. Have you not observed, that whenever he gave a Comedy to the People, he always gained the Prize? There is a great deal of Difference, answered *Nicomachides*, between commanding an Army, and giving Orders concerning a Comedy. Nevertheless, said *Socrates*, *Antisthenes* understands not Musick, he knows not the Laws of the Stage; but he found out those who are excellent in these Matters, and by their Advice met with Success; *Nicomachides* continued; And when he is at the Head of the Army, must he have some likewise to give Orders, and to fight for him? Be that as it will, replied *Socrates*; but if, as he took Care to do when he gave the Comedies, he manages the same in the War, making choice of those who are most knowing in the Art, to

Just complaint of a Soldier.

Good Advice is all in all.

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to adviſe him, he will certainly ſurpaſs all that are in the ſame Imployment with himſelf: And it is very likely that he will be better pleaſed to expend his Treaſure to obtain an intire Victory over the Enemy, which will redound to the Honour and Intereſt of the whole Republick, than to be at a great Expence for Shows, to overcome his Citizens in Magnificence, and to gain a Victory, which can be Honourable to none but himſelf, and thoſe of his Tribe. We muſt then conclude, ſaid *Nicomachides*, that a Man who knows how to give a Comedy, knows how to command an Army? We muſt conclude, anſwered *Socrates*, that every Man who has Judgment enough to know the Things that are neceſſary for his Deſigns, and can procure them, can never fail of Succeſs, whether he concern himſelf with the Stage, or govern a State, manage a Family, or command an Army. Indeed, reſumed *Nicomachides*, I could never have thought you would have told me, that a good Oeconomiſt would make a good General. Come on, ſaid *Socrates*, let us examine wherein conſiſts the Duty of the one and the other, and ſee what Relation there is between theſe two Conditions. Muſt not both of them keep thoſe that are under them in Submiſſion and Obedience? I grant it. Muſt not both of them take Care to imploy every one in the Buſineſs he is fit for? Muſt they not puniſh thoſe who act amiſs, and reward thoſe that behave well? Muſt they not make themſelves beloved by thoſe under their Command? Ought they not to Strengthen themſelves with Friends to aſſiſt them upon Occaſion? Ought they not to know how to preſerve what belongs to them, and to be diligent and indefatigable in the Performance of their Duty? I own, anſwered *Nicomachides*, that all you have ſaid concerns them equally;

Of the relation between an Oeconomiſt and a General.

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equally; but if they were to fight, it would not be the same as to both of them. Why? said *Socrates*, have not both of them Enemies? They have. And would it not be the Advantage of both, to get the better of them? I allow it, said *Nicomachides*, but what will Oeconomy be good for, when they are to come to Blows? Ah, said *Socrates*, it is then it will be most necessary: For when the good Oeconomist sees that the greatest Profit he can get, is to overcome, and that the greatest Loss he can suffer, is to be beaten, he will procure to himself all the Advantages that can gain him the Victory, and will carefully avoid whatever may be the Cause of his Defeat: Thus when he sees his Army well provided with all Things, and in a Condition that seems to promise Success, he will give his Enemies Battle; but when he wants any Thing, he will avoid comeing to an Engagement with them. Thus you see how Oeconomy may be of Use to him: And therefore, *Nicomachides*, despise not those who apply themselves to it; for between the Conduct of a Family and that of a State, the sole Difference is that of a greater or lesser Number; for in all other Respects, there is much Conformity between them: The chief is, that without Men, there could not be any Polity, or any Oeconomy, that they are often executed by the same Persons, and that they who are called to the Government of the Republick, are the very same, whom great Men imploy for their private Affairs: Lastly, That they who make Use of proper Persons for their several Businesses, are successful in their Oeconomy and in Politicks, and that on the contrary, they who fail in this Point, commit great Faults in one and in the other.

Being in Company with * *Pericles*, Son of the great *Pericles*, he said to him: I hope that when you

* He was a Bastard, and one of those Officers whom the Athenians put to death after the Battle of Arginusæ.

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you command the Army, the Republick will be more successful, and gain more Glory in their Wars than formerly. I should be glad of it, answered *Pericles*, but I see little Probability of it. We may bring this Matter to the Test, said *Socrates:* Is it not true that the *Bœotians* are not more numerous than the *Athenians?* I know it. Nor are they either braver or stronger? True, they are not. Do you believe that they agree better among themselves? On the contrary, said *Pericles*, there is a great Misunderstanding between most of the *Bœotians* and the *Thebans*, because of the great Hardships they put upon them: And we have nothing of this among us. But the *Bœotians*, replied *Socrates*, are wonderfully ambitious and benevolent; and these are the Qualities that naturally push Men on to expose themselves for the Sake of Glory, and Love of their Country. *Pericles* answered, the *Athenians* come not short of them in either of those Qualities. It is true, replied *Socrates*, that there is no Nation whose Ancestors have done braver Actions, or more than the *Athenians:* And these domestick Examples excite us to Courage, and create in us a true Love of Virtue and Bravery. Notwithstanding all this, continued *Pericles*, you see that after the Defeat of * *Tolmides* at *Lebadia*, where we lost a Thousand Men, and after another Misfortune that happened to *Hippocrates* before *Delium*, the Greatness of the *Athenians* is sunk so low, and the Courage of the *Bœotians* so raised, that they, who even

Comparison of the Athenians with their Enemies.

Nevertheless a Bœotian-Hog was said by way of Proverb, of a surly, ill-bred Man.

* Though Xenophon speaks of those two Defeats of the Athenians both together, it must not be believed that they happened near the same Time. See Chron. Grec. Thucyd. l. 1. & Diod. 12.

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in their own Country durſt not look the *Athenians* in the Face, without the Aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, and of the other States of the *Peloponneſus*, now threaten *Attica*, with their own Forces alone: And that the *Athenians* who before ravaged *Bœotia*, when it was not defended by foreign Troops, begin to fear in their Turn that the *Bœotians* will lay waſte *Attica* with Fire and Sword. In my Opinion, anſwered *Socrates*, a Governor ought to be well pleaſed to find a Republick in ſuch a Condition: For Fear makes a People more careful, more obedient, and regular; whereas a too great Security is attended with Careleſſneſs, Luxury, and Diſobedience. This is plainly ſeen in Men who are at Sea: When they fear not any Thing, there is nothing in the Ship but Confuſion and Diſorder: But when they apprehend that they ſhall be attacked by Pirates, or that a Tempeſt is hanging over their Head, they not only do whatever they are commanded, but even obſerve a profound Silence, waiting the Order of their Captain, and are like Men dancing at a Ball, in regard to the great Regularity that is preſerved among them. Let us then, ſaid *Pericles*, look on the *Athenians* as obedient: But how ſhall we do to create in them an Emulation to imitate the Virtue of their Anceſtors, to equal their Reputation, and to reſtore the Happineſs of their Age in this? *Socrates* anſwered, If we would have them make themſelves Maſters of an Eſtate, that is in the Poſſeſſion of others, we need only tell them, it is deſcended to them from their Forefathers; and they will immediately endeavour to recover it: If we would encourage them to take the firſt Rank among the Virtuous, we muſt perſuade them that it is their due from all Antiquity, and that if they will

Too profound a Peace hurtful to a State.

How to ſtir up Courage in the People.

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will take Care to preſerve to themſelves this Advantage, they will infallibly ſurpaſs others in Power: We muſt frequently repreſent to them, that the moſt antient of their Predeceſſors were highly eſteemed on Account of their great Virtue. You would be underſtood, ſaid *Pericles*, to ſpeak of that Difference among the Gods, of which the People of *Athens*, in the Days of *Cecrops*, were choſen Arbitrators, becauſe of their Virtue.* You are in the right, ſaid *Socrates*: But I would have them put in Mind likewiſe of the Birth and Education of *Erechtheus*, and of the War, in his Time, againſt the neighbouring Nations; as alſo of that made in Fa-

* There is a famous Paſſage of Varro, relating to this Story, in the 18th Book of St. Auguſtin's City of God, which gave me Light to tranſlate this Place. He tells us, That in the Days of Cecrops, who was the Founder of Athens, a bubbling Spring of Water was ſeen to break out of the Earth on a ſudden, and in another Place an Olive-Tree ſtarted up. Cecrops, aſtoniſhed at this Prodigy, conſulted the Oracle of Delphos, who anſwered, That the Olive-Tree repreſented Minerva, and that the Water ſignified Neptune. And that theſe Gods offering themſelves to the Athenians, to be Patrons of their City, it was in their Power to chuſe which of them they pleaſed. Upon this Anſwer, Cecrops aſſembles all the People, as well Men as Women, and having propoſed this Choice to them, all the Men gave their Vote for Neptune, and all the Women for Minerva, and upon caſting them up, Minerva was found to have the Majority by one Voice. Thus the City was called Athens, from the Name of that Goddeſs, who in that Country Language is called Athena. Neptune inraged at this, ſent a Deluge which overflowed the Territories of this City; but they appeaſed him by putting ſome Women to Death; and it was reſolved that from thenceforward they ſhould have no Votes in the Aſſembly of the People. This is what that Author ſays, though others relate this Matter ſomething differently. As Apollodor. l. 3. Hygin. Fab. 164. & Ovid. lib. 6. Metamorph.

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vour of the *Heraclidæ*, againſt the People of *Peloponneſus*, and in ſhort, of all the other Wars that were in the Days of *Theſeus*; in which our Anceſtors were always reputed the moſt valiant Men of their Age. If you think fit, they may likewiſe be told what the Deſcendants of theſe great Men, and our Predeceſſors of the laſt Age, have done. They may be repreſented to them, reſiſting ſometimes with their own Forces only, the Nations whom all *Aſia* obeyed, whoſe Dominions extended into *Europe*, as far as *Macedonia*, and who inherited a potent Empire from their Fathers, together with formidable Forces, and who were already renowned for many great Exploits. Sometimes you muſt relate to them the Victories they gained by Sea and Land, in Conjunction with the *Lacedæmonians*, who are likewiſe reputed a very brave People. They ſhould be likewiſe told, That great Commotions having ariſen among the *Greeks*, moſt of them changed their Places of Abode, but the *Athenians* always continued in their Country: That they have been choſen by ſeveral People Arbitrators of their Differences, and that the oppreſſed have always fled to them for Protection. When I reflect on all this, ſaid *Pericles*, I am ſurprized to ſee the Republick ſo much fallen from what it was. In my Opinion, replied *Socrates*, ſhe has behaved herſelf like thoſe Perſons, who from too great Advantage over their Rivals, begin to neglect themſelves, and grow in the End puſillanimous: For after the *Athenians* ſaw themſelves raiſed above the other *Greeks*, they indulged themſelves in Indolence, and became quite degenerate. What Courſe muſt they take, ſaid *Pericles*, to regain the Luſtre of their antient Virtue? They need only call to Mind, ſaid *Socrates*, what were the Exerciſes and the Diſcipline of their Anceſtors, and if like them they apply themſelves to the Practice of theſe, they will no doubt arrive at their Perfection: Or if

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they will not govern themselves by that Example, let them imitate the Nations that bear the greatest Sway in *Greece*, let them observe the same Conduct, follow the same Customs, and be assured they will equal, if not surpass them, if they set about it in earnest. Your Opinion, *Socrates*, therefore is, That Virtue is much estranged from our Republick? And indeed, when will the *Athenians* respect old Age, as the *Spartans*; since they begin, even by their own Fathers, to deride Men stricken in Years? When will they exercise themselves as is done in that Republick, since they not only neglect the good Disposition and Activity of Body, but laugh at those who endeavour to acquire them? When will they be obedient to the Magistrates, when they make it a Glory to despise them? When will they be in perfect Unity, who, instead of assisting, daily prejudice one another, and who envy one another more than they do all the rest of Mankind? They are every Day quarrelling in the publick and private Assemblies: They are every Day suing one another, and had rather thrive by the Ruin of their Neighbours, than get an honest Gain by reciprocally assisting one another. The Magistrates mind not the Government of the Republick any farther than their own Interests are concerned, and therefore they use their utmost Endeavours to be in Office and Authority; and for this Reason in the Administration of the State, there is so much Ignorance and Malice; and among private Persons such Feuds and Animosities. And I much fear that this Mischief will get such a Head, that at length there will be no Remedy against it, and that the Republick will sink under the Weight of its Misfortunes. Fear it not, said *Socrates*, and do not believe that the *Athenians* labour under an incurable Disease:

Corruption of the Athenians.

Worst Corruption in a State.

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Diſeaſe: Do you not obſerve how ſkilful and obedient they are at Sea; that in the Combats for Prizes they exactly obey the Orders of thoſe that preſide there; and in the Comedies how readily they comply with what they are bid to do? I ſee it well, anſwered *Pericles*, and cannot but wonder that they are ſo ready to obey on thoſe and the like Occaſions, and that the military Men, who ought to be the moſt virtuous Citizens, are ſo mutinous and refractory. And what ſay you, purſued *Socrates*, to the Senate of the *Areopagus*; are they not all of them Perſons of great Worth? Do you know any Judges, who diſcharge their Office with more Integrity, and who more exactly obſerve the Laws; who more faithfully render Juſtice to private Men, and who more worthily acquit themſelves of all Manner of Affairs? I blame not them, ſaid *Pericles*. Deſpair not then of the *Athenians*, added *Socrates*, as of an untractable People: But in War, replied *Pericles*, Diſcipline, Modeſty, and Obedience, are required: And theſe the *Athenians* wholly want on that Occaſion. Perhaps, too, continued *Socrates*, they who command them know little of their own Duty. Do you not take Notice that no Man undertakes to govern a Company of Muſicians, Comedians, Dancers, or Wreſtlers, unleſs he be capable of it; and that all who take ſuch Imployments upon them, can give an Account where they have learnt the Exerciſes, of which they are become Maſters? But moſt of our Generals go to ſerve their Apprenticeſhip in the Army, I know very well that you are not of this Number, and that you have improved to your Advantage the Time you have ſpent in learning the Art of War, and other laudable Exerciſes. I imagine

Praiſe of the Areopagus.

The Ignorance of the Officers makes ill Soldiers.

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gine likewiſe, that in the Memoirs of your Father, the great *Pericles*, you have found many rare Stratagems, and that by your Diligence you have alſo collected up and down a great Number of others. Nor do I doubt, but that you frequently meditate on theſe Matters, that nothing may be wanting in you, that may be of Uſe to a General. Inſomuch, that if you find yourſelf in Doubt of any Thing, you immediately have Recourſe to thoſe that know it, and ſpare neither Preſents nor Civilities, to incline them to aſſiſt you, and to teach you the Things of which you are ignorant. Alas! *Socrates*, ſaid *Pericles*, you flatter me; and ſay of me Things which you know I do not perform; but by that you inſtruct me in my Duty. Upon this *Socrates* interrupting him, I will, ſaid he, give you one Advice. Have you not obſerved, That in the high Mountains, which are the Frontiers of *Attica*, and divide it from *Bœotia*, the Roads through which you muſt of Neceſſity paſs to go from one Country to the other, are very rough and narrow? Yes, I have. Tell me beſides, have you never heard ſay, that the *Myſians* and the *Piſidians*, who are in Poſſeſſion of advantageous Places in the Dominions of the *Great King*, arm themſelves lightly, and make continual Inroads upon the neighbouring Provinces, and by that Means are very troubleſome to that King's Subjects, and preſerve their own Liberty? I have heard ſo. It is probable too, continued *Socrates*, That if the *Athenians* would poſſeſs themſelves of the Mountains, that are between *Bœotia* and *Attica*, and if they took Care to ſend thither ſome young Men with Arms proper for Inroaders, our Enemies would be much prejudiced by them, and all thoſe Mountains would ſerve as a Rampart to cover our Country from their Inſults. I believe what you ſay, anſwered *Pericles*, and

The Greeks gave that Title to the King of Perſia.

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and take all the Advices you have given me to be very good: If you think them ſo, replied *Socrates*, endeavour to put them in Practice: For if any of them ſucceed, you will receive the Honour, and the Republick the Profit; and even though they ſhould not meet with Succeſs, the Republick would have no Inconvenience to apprehend, nor you the leaſt Diſhonour.

He was Plato's Brother.

A young Man, whoſe Name was *Glaucon*, the Son of *Ariſton*, had ſo violent a Deſire for public Affairs, that before he was twenty Years of Age, he frequently preſented himſelf before the People, to diſcourſe of Affairs of State: Nor was it in the Power of his Relations or Friends to diſſuade him from that Deſign, though all the World laughed at him for it, and though ſometimes he was dragged from the Tribunal by Force. *Socrates* had a Kindneſs for him, upon Account of *Plato* and *Charmidas*, and his Arguments alone made him change his Reſolution; he met him, and accoſted him in ſo engaging a Manner, that he firſt obliged him to hearken to his Diſcourſe: He began with him thus. You have a Mind then to govern the Republick? I have ſo, anſwered *Glaucon*. You cannot, replied *Socrates*, have a more noble Deſign: For if you can accompliſh it, you will be abſolute, you will be able to ſerve your Friends, you will raiſe your Family, you will extend the Bounds of your Country, you will be known not only in *Athens* but through all *Greece*, and perhaps your Renown will reach even the barbarous Nations, as did that of *Themiſtocles*. In ſhort, wherever you come, you will have the Reſpect and Admiration of all the World. Theſe Words ſoothed up *Glaucon*, and won him to give Ear to *Socrates*, who went on in this Manner.

Socrates cunningly confounds the Temerity of a young Man.

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Manner. But it is certain, that if you desire to be honoured, you must be useful to the State. Certainly, said *Glaucon*. And in the Name of all the Gods, replied *Socrates*, tell me, what is the first Service that you pretend to render the State? *Glaucon* was considering what to answer, when *Socrates* continued. If you intended to make the Fortune of one of your Friends, you would endeavour to make him rich, and thus perhaps you will make it your Business to enrich the Republick? I would, answered *Glaucon*. *Socrates* replied. Would not the Way to enrich the Republick be to encrease its Revenues? It is very likely it would, said *Glaucon*. Tell me then in what consist the Revenues of the State, and to how much may they amount? I presume you have particularly studied this Matter, to the End that if any Thing should be lost on one Hand, you may know where to make it Good on another, and that if a Fund should fail on a sudden, you might immediately be able to settle another in its Place? I protest, answered *Glaucon*, I have never thought of this. Tell me at least the Expences of the Republick, for no Doubt you intend to retrench the Superfluous? I never thought of this neither, said *Glaucon*. You were best then put off to another Time your Design of enriching the Republick, which you can never be able to do, while you are ignorant both of its Expences and Revenues. There is another Way to enrich a State, said *Glaucon*, of which you take no Notice, and that is by the Ruin of its Enemies. You are in the right, answered *Socrates*: But to this End, it is necessary to be stronger than they, otherwise we should run the Hazard of losing what we have. He therefore who talks of undertaking a War, ought to know the Strength on both Sides, to the End that if his Party be the stronger, he may boldly advise for War, and that if it be the weaker, he may dissuade the People from

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from engaging themſelves in ſo dangerous an Enterprize. All this is true. Tell me then, continued *Socrates*, how ſtrong our Forces are by Sea and Land, and how ſtrong are our Enemies? Indeed, ſaid *Glaucon*, I cannot tell you on a ſudden. If you have a Liſt of them in Writing, pray ſhew it me, I ſhould be glad to hear it read. I have it not yet: I ſee then, ſaid *Socrates*, that we ſhall not engage in War ſo ſoon: For the Greatneſs of the Undertaking will hinder you from maturely weighing all the Conſequences of it, in the Beginning of your Government. But, continued he, you have thought of the Defence of the Country, you know what Gariſons are neceſſary, and what are not; you know what Number of Troops is ſufficient in one, and not ſufficient in another: You will cauſe the neceſſary Gariſons to be reinforced, and will diſband the uſeleſs? I ſhould be of Opinion, ſaid *Glaucon*, to leave none of them on Foot, becauſe they ruin a Country, on pretence of defending it. But, *Socrates* objected, if all the Gariſons were taken away, there would be nothing to hinder the firſt comer from carrying off what he pleaſed: But how come you to know that the Gariſons behave themſelves ſo ill? Have you been upon the Place, have you inſpected them? Not at all: But I ſuſpect it to be ſo. When therefore we are certain of it, ſaid *Socrates*, and can ſpeak upon better Grounds than ſimple Conjectures, we will propoſe this Advice to the Senate. It may be proper to do ſo, ſaid *Glaucon*. It comes into my Mind, continued *Socrates*, that you have never been at the Mines of Silver, to examine why they bring not in ſo much now as they did formerly. You ſay true, I have never been there. Indeed they ſay the Place is very unhealthy, and that may excuſe you. You rally me now, ſaid *Glaucon*.

Theſe Mines were in a Village of Attica called Laurion, not far from Athens.

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Glaucon. *Socrates* added; but I believe you have at leaſt obſerved, how much Corn our Lands produce, how long it will ſerve to ſupply our City, and how much more we ſhall want for the whole Year: To the End you may not be ſurprized with a Scarcity of Bread, but may give timely Orders for the neceſſary Proviſions. There is a deal to do, ſaid *Glaucon*, if we muſt take Care of all theſe Things. There is ſo, replied *Socrates*, and it is even impoſſible to manage our own Families well, unleſs we know all that is wanting, and take Care to provide it. As you ſee therefore that our City is compoſed of above ten thouſand Families, and it being a difficult Taſk to watch over them all at once, why did you not firſt try to retrieve your Uncle's Affairs which are running to Decay, and after having given that Proof of your Induſtry, you might have taken a greater Truſt upon you? But now, when you find yourſelf incapable of aſſiſting a private Man, how can you think of behaving yourſelf ſo, as to be uſeful to a whole People? Ought a Man who has not Strength enough to carry a hundred Pounds Weight, undertake to carry a heavier Burden? I would have done good Service to my Uncle, ſaid *Glaucon*, if he would have taken my Advice. How! replied *Socrates*, have you not hitherto been able to govern the Mind of your Uncle, and do you now believe yourſelf able to govern the Minds of all the *Athenians*, and his among the reſt? Take heed, my dear *Glaucon*, take heed, leſt a too great Deſire of Glory ſhould render you deſpiſed; conſider how dangerous it is to ſpeak of, or attempt Things we do not underſtand: What a Figure do thoſe forward and raſh People make in the World, who do ſo, and judge whether they acquire more Eſteem than Blame, whether they are more admired than contemned.

Many think themſelves capable to govern, who know nothing of it.

Think

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Think on the contrary, with how much Honour a Man is regarded, who is a perfect Maſter of what he ſays and what he does, and then you will confeſs that Renown and Applauſe have always been the Recompence of true Merit, and Shame the Reward of Ignorance and Temerity. If therefore you would be honoured, endeavour to be a Man of true Merit, for if you enter upon the Government of the Republick, with a Mind more ſagacious than uſual, I ſhall not wonder if you ſucceed in all your Deſigns.

Thus *Socrates* put a Stop to the diſorderly Ambition of this young Man: but on an Occaſion quite contrary, he in the following Manner exhorted *Charmidas*, the Son of *Glaucon*, to take an Imployment: He was a Man of Senſe, and more deſerving than any in the ſame Station; but as he dreaded the People, he made great Difficulties of engaging himſelf in publick Buſineſs. *Socrates* therefore addreſſed himſelf to him in this Manner. If you knew any Man who could gain the Prizes in the publick Games, and by that Means render himſelf illuſtrious, and acquire Glory to his Country, what would you ſay of him if he refuſed to offer himſelf to the Combat? I would ſay, anſwered *Charmidas*, that he was a mean-ſpirited effeminate Fellow. And if a Man were capable of governing a Republick, of encreaſeing its Power by his Advices, and of raiſing himſelf by this Means to a high Degree of Honour, would you not brand him likewiſe with Meanneſs of Soul, if he would not preſent himſelf to be imployed? Perhaps I might, ſaid *Charmidas*; but why do you aſk me this Queſtion? *Socrates* replied; becauſe you are capable of managing

He was Uncle of the young Man we ſpoke of, and of Plato.

Converſation of Socrates and Charmidas.

'Tis ſometimes a meanneſs of Mind to avoid an Office.

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managing the Affairs of the Republick, and nevertheless you avoid engaging in them, though in Quality of a Citizen you are obliged to take Care of the Commonwealth. And wherein have you observed this Capacity in me? When I have seen you in Conversation with the Ministers of State, answered *Socrates*; for if they impart any Affairs to you, I see you give them good Advice, and when they commit any Errors, you make them judicious Remonstrances. Truly, objected *Charmidas*, there is a great Difference between discoursing in private, and speaking before the People. And yet, replied *Socrates*, a skilful Arithmetician can calculate as well in Presence of many Persons, as when alone; and they who can play well upon the Lute in their Closets, play likewise well in Company. But you know, said *Charmidas*, that Fear and Shame, which are so natural to Man, affect us more in publick Assemblies than in private Conversation. Is it possible, said *Socrates*, that you can converse so unconcernedly with Men of Parts and Authority, and that you should not have Assurance enough to speak before Fools? are you afraid to present your self, before Dyers, Shoemakers, Masons, Smiths, Labourers, and Brokers? For of such are composed the popular Assemblies: This is the same Thing as to be the most expert in a Fencing-School, and to fear the Thrust of an Ignoramus, who never handled a Foil: Thus you, though you speak boldly in the Presence of the chief Men of the Republick, among whom there might perhaps be found some who would despise you, dare not speak before a stupid Multitude who understand nothing of the Affairs of State, and who are not capable of despising you and fear to be laughed at by them. Do they not usually, said *Charmidas*, laugh at those who speak best? So likewise,

Assemblies of the People.

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wiſe, ſaid *Socrates*, do the Men of Quality, with whom you converſe every Day; and I am ſurprized that you have Eloquence and Senſe ſufficient to bring theſe to Reaſon, and that you think yourſelf incapable of appearing before theſe. Learn to know yourſelf better, *Charmidas*, and take Care not to fall into a Fault that is almoſt general: For all Men enquire curiouſly enough into the Affairs of others; but they never enter into their own Boſoms, to examine themſelves as they ought. Be no longer then thus negligent in this Matter, conſider your ſelf with more Attention, and let not ſlip the Occaſions of ſerving the Republick, and of rendring it, if poſſible, more flouriſhing than it is. This will be a Bleſſing, whoſe Influence will deſcend not only on the other Citizens, but on your beſt Friends and your ſelf.

It is an Injuſtice to have too mean an Opinion of our ſelves.

One Day *Ariſtippus* propoſed a captious Queſtion to *Socrates*, with a Deſign to ſurprize him; and this by Way of Revenge, for puzzling him formerly. But *Socrates* anſwered him warily, and as a Perſon who has no other Deſign in his Converſations than the Improvement of his Hearers. The Queſtion which *Ariſtippus* aſked him was, If he knew in the World any Thing Good: And if *Socrates* had anſwered him, that Meat or Drink, or Riches, or Health, or Strength, or Courage, are good Things, he would have proved that it may happen that they are very bad; he therefore gave him ſuch an Anſwer as he ought; and becauſe he knew very well, that when we feel any Indiſpoſition, we earneſtly deſire a Remedy for it, he ſaid to him: Do you aſk me, for Example, if I know any Thing that is good for a Fever? No, ſaid *Ariſtippus*. Or for ſore Eyes, ſaid *Socrates*? Neither.

Converſation of Socrates and Ariſtippus teaching what is Good, and what Beautiful or Excellent.

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Neither. Do you mean any Thing that is good againſt Hunger? Not in the leaſt, anſwered *Ariſtippus*. I promiſe you, ſaid *Socrates*, that if you aſk me for a good Thing that is good for nothing, I know no ſuch Thing, nor have any Thing to do with it. *Ariſtippus* preſſed him yet farther; and aſked him if he knew any Thing beautiful. I know a great many, ſaid *Socrates*. Are they all like one another, continued *Ariſtippus*? *Socrates* anſwered, Not in the leaſt, for they are very different from one another. And how is it poſſible that two beautiful Things ſhould be contrary one to the other? This, ſaid *Socrates*, is ſeen every Day in Men: A beautiful Shape and Diſpoſition of Body for Running, is very different from a beautiful Shape and Diſpoſition for Wreſtling: The Excellence and Beauty of a Buckler is to cover well him that wears it; on the contrary, the Excellence and Beauty of a Dart is to be light and piercing. You anſwer me, ſaid *Ariſtippus*, as you anſwered me before, when I aſked you if you knew any Thing Good. And do you think, replied *Socrates*, that the Good and the Beautiful are different: Know you not that the Things that are Beautiful, are Good likewiſe in the ſame Senſe. It would be falſe to ſay of Virtue, That on certain Occaſions it is Beautiful, and on others Good. When we ſpeak of Men of Honour, we join the two Qualities, and call them Excellent and Good. In our Bodies, Beauty and Goodneſs relate always to the ſame End. In a Word, all Things that are of any uſe in the World, are eſteemed Beautiful and Good, with Regard to the Subject for which they are proper. At this Rate you might find Beauty in a Baſket to carry Dung, ſaid *Ariſtippus*. Yes, if it be well made, for that Uſe, anſwered *Socrates*; and on the contrary, I would ſay that a Buckler of Gold was ugly, if it was ill made. Would you ſay, purſued *Ariſtippus*, that the ſame Thing may be Beautiful

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tiful and Ugly at once? I would ſay that it might be Good and Bad. Often what is good for Hunger, is bad for a Fever: And what is good for a Fever, is very bad for Hunger: Often what is a beautiful Attitude in Running, is an ugly one in Wreſtling; and what is beautiful in Wreſtling, is ugly in Running. For all Things are reputed Beautiful and Good, when they are compared with thoſe which they become, as they are eſteemed Ugly and Bad, when compared with thoſe they do not become.

Beautiful Houſes are moſt convenient.

Thus we ſee, that when *Socrates* ſaid that beautiful Houſes were the moſt convenient, he taught plainly enough in what Manner we ought to build them, and he reaſoned thus: Ought not he who builds a Houſe, to ſtudy chiefly how to make it moſt pleaſant and convenient. This Propoſition being granted, he purſued: Is it not a Pleaſure to have a Houſe that is cool in Summer, and warm in Winter? And does not this happen in Buildings that front towards the South? For the Beams of the Sun enter into the Apartments in Winter, and only paſs over the Covering in Summer. For this Reaſon the Houſes that front towards the South, ought to be very high, that they may receive the Sun in Winter; and on the contrary, thoſe that front towards the North, ought to be very low, that they may be leſs expoſed to the cold Winds of that Quarter: In ſhort, he uſed to ſay, That he had a very beautiful and very agreeable Houſe, who could live there with Eaſe during all the Seaſons of the Year, and keep there in Safety all that he has; but that for Painting and other Ornaments, there was more trouble in them than Pleaſure.

How to build.

He

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He ſaid, That remote Places, and ſuch as could be ſeen from far, were very proper to erect Altars and build Temples in: For though we are at a Diſtance from them, yet it is a Satisfaction to pray in Sight of the Holy Places: And as they are a-part from the Haunts of Men, innocent Souls find more Devotion in approaching them.

In what Places Temples ought to be built.

Another Time, being asked if Courage can be acquired, or if it be a Gift of Nature, he anſwered; in my Opinion, as we ſee many Bodies that are naturally more vigorous than others, and that better endure Fatigue, ſo there are ſome Souls that are naturally more brave, and look Dangers in the Face with greater Reſolution. For I ſee Men living under the ſame Laws, and brought up in the ſame Cuſtoms, are not all equally valiant. Nevertheleſs, I believe that Education and Exerciſe add much to natural Courage. Whence comes it to paſs that the *Scythians* and the *Thracians* durſt not face the *Lacedæmonians* with Pikes and Targets; and on the contrary, that the *Lacedæmonians* would not fight againſt the *Thracians*, with Shields and Darts; nor againſt the *Scythians* with Bows. I perceive the ſame in all other Things, and that when ſome Men are better inclined by Nature for certain Things, than other Men are, they very much advance and perfect themſelves in thoſe Things by Study and Diligence. This ſhews, that they who are moſt favoured by Nature, as well as thoſe to whom ſhe has been leſs Indulgent, ought to apply themſelves aſſiduouſly to the Things, by which they would gain themſelves a Reputation.

That Exerciſe contributes very much to a good natural Complexion.

He allowed no Difference between Knowledge and Temper-

That Temperance is a Science.

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ance, and he held, that he who knows what is Good, and embraces it, who knows what is bad and avoids it, is learned and temperate: And when he was asked, if he believed that they who know very well what ought to be done, but act quite otherwiſe, were learned and temperate? On the contrary, anſwered he, they are very ignorant and very ſtupid: For in my Opinion, every Man, who in the great Number of poſſible Things that offer themſelves to him, can diſcern what is moſt advantageous for him to do, never fails to do it: But all who govern not themſelves well, and as they ought, are neither Learned, nor Men of good Morals.

That Juſtice and every other Virtue is a Science.

He ſaid likewiſe, That Juſtice, and every other Virtue, is only a Science; becauſe all the Actions of Juſtice, and of the other Virtues, are good and honourable; and that all who know the beauty of theſe Actions, think nothing more charming: As on the contrary, they who are ignorant of them, cannot perform any one virtuous Action, or fail in the right Performance, if they undertake it. Therefore the Perſons only who poſſeſs this Science, can do good Actions: But all good Actions are done by the Means of Virtue: Therefore Virtue is only a Science.

This is what Ariſtotle blames him for in the great Morals.

Of Madneſs.

He ſaid moreover, That Madneſs is contrary to Knowledge; and nevertheleſs he did not allow Ignorance to be Madneſs: But that not to know ones ſelf, or to imagine one knows what one does not know, is a Diſeaſe next to Madneſs: And he obſerved, That among the Vulgar, a Man is not accuſed of Madneſs, for being miſtaken in Things that are unknown to moſt of the World, but for miſtaking in Things in which no Man miſtakes: As if any Man ſhould think

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think himſelf ſo tall, as to be obliged to ſtoop when he came in at the Gates of the City: Or if he thought himſelf ſo ſtrong, as to undertake to carry away whole Houſes on his Back, or to do any other Thing viſibly impoſſible, the People would ſay that he had loſt his Wits, which they do not ſay of thoſe who commit only ſome ſlight Extravagancies: And as they give the Name of Love to a violent Affection only, ſo they give the Name of Madneſs, only to an extraordinary Diſorder of the Mind.

Reflecting on the Nature of Envy, he ſaid, That it is an Affliction of Mind, which proceeds, not from the Misfortune of Friends, or the good Fortune of Enemies; but that the envious Man is he, who repines and ſaddens at the good Fortune of his Friends: And his Hearers ſeeming to be ſurprized that any ſuch Perſons were to be met with, he proved to them, that there are Men of ſuch an unaccountable Inconſtancy of Temper, in Regard to their Friends, that they cannot endure to ſee them in Affliction, but they immediately endeavour to relieve them; and yet cannot ſee them in Proſperity without Envy: But that this is a Fault from which good Men are free, and never to be found but in Minds depraved and diſhoneſt. Of Envy.

As for Idleneſs, he ſaid that he had obſerved, that moſt Men were always in Action; for they who play at Dice, or who ſerve to make others laugh, are doing ſomething; but in Effect they are idle, becauſe they might imploy themſelves more uſefully. To which he added, That no Man finds Leiſure to quit a good Imployment for an ill one; and that if he did, he would deſerve the greater Blame, in that he wanted not ſomething to do before. Of Idleneſs.

He ſaid likewiſe, That the Sceptre makes not the King; and that Princes and Governors are not they

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He that governs, ought to know how to command.

whom Chance or the choice of the People hath raiſed to thoſe Dignities, nor thoſe who have eſtabliſhed themſelves in them by Fraud or Force, but they who know how to command: For if it were allowed, that it is the Duty of a Prince to command, as it is the Duty of a Subject to obey, he ſhewed in Conſequence of it, That in a Ship, where there are ſeveral Perſons, the Honour of commanding it is given to him who is moſt capable of it, and that all obey him, the Owner of the Veſſel not excepted: That likewiſe in Huſbandry, he to whom the Land belongs, obeys his own Servants, if they underſtand Agriculture better than himſelf: That thus the Sick obey the Phyſicians; and they who learn Exerciſes, their Maſters: Nay, That even Women are Maſters of the Men, in working with the Needle, becauſe they underſtand it better than they: In ſhort, That in all Things which require Care and Induſtry, Men govern themſelves when they think they are capable of doing ſo: Otherwiſe, they leave themſelves to the Conduct of ſuch as they judge to have more Capacity, and take Care to have them near at Hand for that Purpoſe. And if any Man made him this Objection, That a Tyrant is at Liberty not to believe the beſt Advices, he anſwered, Why do you ſay he is at Liberty not to do ſo, ſeeing he will bear the ſmart of it: For every Man, who ſhuts his Ears to good Counſel, commits a Fault, and this Fault is always attended with ſome Damage. And if it were ſaid, That a Tyrant is permitted to put to Death Men of the beſt Parts and Underſtanding in his State; he replied again, Do you think he is not puniſhed in loſing his chief Supports, or that his Crime will be attended with only a ſlight Puniſhment? Is to govern in this Manner

The Actions of a Tyrant go not unpuniſhed.

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the Way to preſerve himſelf; or rather, is it not the certain Means to haſten his own Ruin.

Difference between Chance and Induſtry.

Being asked, what was the beſt Study to which a Man could apply himſelf, he anſwered, Do Good; and being asked farther, if good Fortune was the Effect of Study? On the contrary, ſaid he, I think good Fortune and Study to be two oppoſite Things: For what I call good Fortune is, when a Man meets with what is neceſſary for him, without the Trouble of ſeeking it; but when he meets with any good Succeſs after a tedious Search and Labour, it is an Effect of Study; this is what I call doing Good: And I think that all who delight in this Study, are for the moſt Part ſucceſsful, and gain the Eſteem of Men, and the Favour of the Gods. Such are they as have rendered themſelves excellent in Oeconomy, in Phyſick, and in Politicks: But whoſoever knows not any one Thing perfectly, is neither uſeful to Men, nor favoured of the Gods.

Converſation between Socrates and a Painter.

He was wonderful in all his Converſations; and when he happened to be in Company even with Tradeſmen, his Diſcourſe was ſuch as might be of Service to them. Going once into the Shop of the Painter *Parrhaſius*, he entertained himſelf with him in the following Manner. Is not Painting a Repreſentation of all we ſee? For with a few Colours you repreſent, on a Canvas, Mountains and Cavities, Light and Obſcurity: You cauſe to be obſerved the Difference between Things ſoft and hard, ſmooth and rough: You give Youth and old Age to Bodies, and when you would repreſent a perfect * Beauty, it being impoſſible to find

* This was the Invention of Xeuxes, who being to paint a naked Helena for the Crotonians, would ſee the moſt

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find a Body without ſome Defect, your Way is to regard ſeveral, and taking what is beautiful from each of them, you make one accompliſhed in all its Parts. We do ſo, ſaid *Parrhaſius*. Can you repreſent likewiſe, ſaid *Socrates*, what is moſt engaging and moſt lovely, moſt deſirable and amiable in the Perſon, I mean the Diſpoſition of the Soul. *Parrhaſius* anſwered, How think you we can paint what cannot be expreſſed by any Proportion, nor with any Colour, and that has nothing in common with any of thoſe Things you mentioned, and which the Pencil can imitate: In a Word, a Thing that cannot be ſeen? *Socrates* replied. Do not the very Looks of Men confeſs either Malice or Goodwill. In my Opinion, they do; ſaid *Parrhaſius*. You can then make Malice and Goodwill appear to the Eye. I own we can. Do you think likewiſe, continued *Socrates*, That in the Adverſities and Proſperities of Friends, they who concern themſelves either Way, keep the ſame Look with thoſe who are wholly unconcerned for either? By no Means, ſaid he, for during the Proſperity of our Friends, our Looks are gay and full of Joy, but in their Adverſity we look cloudy and dejected. This then may be painted likewiſe? It may. Beſides, ſaid *Socrates*, Magnificence, Generoſity, meanneſs of Mind, Cowardice, Modeſty, Prudence, Inſolence, Ruſticity, all appear in the Looks of a Man, whether ſitting or ſtanding. You ſay true. And cannot the Pencil imitate all this likewiſe? It may. And in which do you take moſt Pleaſure, ſaid *Socrates*, in regarding the Picture of a Man, whoſe Exterior diſcovers a good natural Diſpoſition, and beſpeaks an honeſt Man; or of one who wears in his Face the Marks of

moſt beautiful Women of the City, and made them ſtrip themſelves before him, that he might imitate what was moſt beautiful in each of them.

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of a vicious Inclination? There is no Compariſon between them, ſaid *Parrhaſius.*

Converſation between Socrates and a Statuary.

Another Time, talking with the Sculptor, *Clito*, he ſaid to him, I wonder not that you make ſo great a Difference between the Statue of a Man running a Race, and one waiting for his Antagoniſt with whom he is to wreſtle, or box, or to play a Prize at all Sorts of Weapons: But what raviſhes the Beholders is, That your Statues ſeem to be alive: I would fain know by what Art you imprint upon them this wonderful Vivacity? *Clito* ſurprized at this Queſtion, ſtood conſidering what to anſwer, when *Socrates* went on; Perhaps you take great Care to make them reſemble the living Perſons, and this is the Reaſon that they ſeem to live likewiſe. It is ſo, ſaid *Clito.* You muſt then, replied *Socrates*, obſerve very exactly, in the different Poſtures of the Body, the natural Diſpoſitions of all the Parts: For when ſome of them ſtoop down, the others raiſe themſelves up: When ſome are contracted, the others ſtretch themſelves out: When ſome are ſtiff with ſtraining, others relax themſelves, and when you imitate all this, you make your Statues approach very near the Life. You ſay true, ſaid *Clito.* Is it not true, likewiſe, replied *Socrates*, that it is a great Satisfaction to Beholders, to ſee all the Paſſions of a Man, who is in Action, well expreſſed? Thus in the Statue of a Gladiator, who is fighting, you muſt imitate the ſternneſs of Look with which he threatens his Enemy: On the contrary, you muſt give him, when Victor, a Look of Gaiety and Satisfaction. There is no Doubt of what you ſay. Therefore, ſaid *Socrates*, an excellent Statuary muſt repreſent the Actions of the Soul, by the Motions and Poſtures of the Body.

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Converſation of Socrates with an Armourer.

Another Time, being in the Shop of *Piſtias*, the Armourer, who ſhewed him ſome Corſelets that were very well made. I admire, ſaid he to him, the Invention of theſe Arms, that cover the Body in the Places where it has moſt Need of being defended, and nevertheleſs are no Hinderance to the Motions of the Hands and Arms: But tell me why you ſell the Suits of Armour you make, dearer than the other Workmen of the City, ſince they are not ſtronger, nor their Metal better-tempered or more valuable? I ſell them dearer than others, anſwered *Piſtias*, becauſe they are better made than theirs. In what does this Excellence conſiſt, ſaid *Socrates*, in the Weight, or in the Largeneſs of the Arms? And yet you make them not all of the ſame Weight, nor of the ſame Size, but to fit particular Perſons. They muſt be fit, ſaid *Piſtias*, otherwiſe they would be of no Uſe. But do you not know, replied *Socrates*, that ſome Bodies are well ſhaped, and others not? I know it well. How then, continued *Socrates*, can you make a well ſhaped Suit of Armour for an ill ſhaped Body: *Piſtias* anſwered: It will be ſufficient if they are fit for him; for what is fit is well made. You are of Opinion then, added *Socrates*, that one cannot judge whether a Thing be well made, conſidering it meerly in itſelf, but in Regard to the Perſon for whoſe Uſe it is: As if you ſaid that a Buckler is well made for him whom it fits; and in like Manner of a Suit of Cloaths, or any other Thing whatſoever. But I think there is another Convenience in having a Suit of Armour well made. What do you take that to be, ſaid *Piſtias*. *Socrates* anſwered. Methinks, a Suit of Armour that is well made, does not load the Bearer ſo much as one ill made, even though it weigh

Convenience of Armour well made.

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weigh as much. For ill made Arms press too much upon the Shoulders, or hang cumberous on some other Part, and are incredibly uneasy to the Wearer: But they, which as they ought, distribute an equal Weight to all the Parts of the Body; that lie easy upon the Neck, the Shoulders, the Breast, the Back and the Hips, may be said to be glued to the Body and to weigh nothing at all. For this, said *Pistias*, I value the Arms I make. It is true, that some chuse rather to part with their Money, for Arms that are gilt and finely carved, but if with all this they sit not easy upon them, in my Opinion they buy a rich Inconveniency. *Socrates* went on; but since the Body is not always in the same Posture, but sometimes bends, and sometimes raises itself strait, how can Arms that are very fit be convenient and easy? They never can, said *Pistias*. Your Opinion therefore is, said *Socrates*, that the best Arms are not those that are most fit, and sit closest to the Body, but those that do not incommode the Person that wears them. You too are of the same Opinion, replied *Pistias*, and you understand the Matter aright.

Conversation of Socrates with Theodota.

There was at *Athens*, a very beautiful Lady, called * *Theodota*, but without Virtue or Modesty: Some Body was speaking of her in Presence of *Socrates*, and saying, that she was the most beautiful Woman in the whole World; that all the Painters went to see her to draw her

* This is the Discourse that has made the Enemies of Socrates exclaim against him, and say, That he has given such lewd Instructions of Love to a Woman, as the most insinuating Bawds could have given her. And indeed, not to lie for the Matter, there are some Things liable to a malicious Interpretation: But we ought to consider that Socrates reasons as a Philosopher, and that finding himself

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her Picture, and that they were very well received at her Houſe: Methinks, ſaid *Socrates*, we ought to viſit her: For we ſhall be better able to judge of her Beauty, after we have ſeen her our ſelves, than upon the bare Relation of others. The Perſon, who began the Diſcourſe, encouraged the Matter, and that very Moment they all went to *Theodota*'s Houſe. They found her with a Painter who was drawing her Picture; and having conſidered her at Leiſure, when the Painter had done, *Socrates* began thus. Do you think that we are more obliged to *Theodota*, for having afforded us the Sight of her Beauty, than ſhe is to us for coming to ſee her? If all the Advantage be on her Side, it muſt be owned that ſhe is obliged to us? if it be on ours, it muſt be confeſſed that we are obliged to her. Here ſomebody ſaying, there

ſelf engaged to ſpeak of the Means that can be uſed to gain and preſerve our Friends, he was obliged to touch upon every Thing that related to his Subject, without having Regard to the Explication which might be given to what he ſaid. But at length, 'tis viſible that he was deſirous to take away all manner of Doubt; and that he turns the Diſcourſe to a Senſe quite different from that to which it at firſt ſeemed to tend, by diſdaining in the Concluſion the Requeſt of Theodota, who prayed him to viſit her. Nay, it is evident, that his Deſign was to reclaim her from Vice, and to incline her to Virtue; when he ſays, That he would employ againſt her the Spell he made Uſe of, to charm Apollodorus, Simmias, and Antiſthenes: Which can be underſtood of nothing but Philoſophy, by which he enchanted thoſe that ſaw him, from whence ſomewhere in Plato he is called a Sorcerer. But he has thought fit to let ſlip ſome Words that are a little ambiguous and unwary, it not being his Cuſtom to lay himſelf open all at once, to the End the Perſons whom he deſigned to win over to Virtue, might be the more earneſt to hear again what he had ſaid to them but by Halves, and might be diſpoſed more favourably to receive a Doctrine, which he had made them even long to hear.

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there was Reaſon to think ſo; *Socrates* continued in theſe Words. Hath ſhe not already had the Advantage of receiving the Praiſes we have given her? But it will be yet a much greater to her, when we make known her Merit in all the Companies we come into: But as for our ſelves, what do we carry from hence, except a Deſire to enjoy the Things we have ſeen? We go hence with Souls full of Love and Uneaſineſs; and from this Time forward we obey *Theodota*, in all ſhe pleaſes to injoin. If it be ſo, ſaid *Theodota*, I muſt return you many Thanks for your coming hither. Mean while *Socrates* took Notice, that ſhe was magnificently apparelled, and that her Mother appeared likewiſe like a Woman of Condition: He ſaw a great Number of Women Attendants very well dreſſed, and that the whole Houſe was richly furniſhed. He took Occaſion from hence to inform himſelf of her Circumſtances in the World, and to aſk her, if ſhe had an Eſtate in Land, or Houſes in the City, or Slaves, whoſe Labour ſupplied the Expences of her Family? She anſwered: I have nothing of all this: My Friends are my Revenue, I ſubſiſt by their Liberality. Friends, replied *Socrates*, are truly the greateſt Riches in the World. A Number of Friends is of more Worth than a Flock of Sheep, or of Goats, or than a Herd of Oxen. But, ſaid he, do you leave to Fortune the Care of getting yourſelf Friends, and wait till a Friend comes to you by Chance, as Flies fall into the Webs of Spiders, or do you employ any Art to catch them? And is there any Art to be uſed for that Purpoſe, ſaid *Theodota*? Yes, replied *Socrates*, and you ought to find it much ſooner than thoſe little Spiders I was ſpeaking of: And yet you ſee, that as they live only upon Prey, they ſpread their Nets in the Air, to catch their Food. You would then adviſe me likewiſe, ſaid *Theodota*, to ſpread Nets to catch Friends? Not ſo, neither, replied

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plied *Socrates*, we go otherwiſe provided to a Chace of ſuch Importance: Nay, even to catch Hares, which are ſo common, there is much more Difficulty required: Obſerve how many Precautions Sportſmen take: Firſt, knowing that the Hare goes to feed in the Night, they have Dogs that hunt by Night, becauſe in the Day the Hare keeps in her Form: They are curious to get Dogs that have good Noſes, and who having once ſcented the Footſteps of the Hare, never fail to come up with her: But becauſe ſhe is ſwift of Foot, and might eſcape by running, they take Care to have Greyhounds to catch her as ſhe runs: And for Fear ſhe ſhould eſcape after all, they ſet Traps and Gins to intercept her in her Flight. You have mentioned ſeveral Inventions, ſaid *Theodota*, but which is the beſt to catch Friends? Inſtead of Dogs, ſaid *Socrates*, you ought to have ſome ſtanch Perſon to find out the Men that are rich, and of amorous Complexion, and to drive them afterwards into your Nets. And what Nets have I, ſaid *Theodota*? You have Nets, anſwered *Socrates*, and thoſe very entangling too. I mean your Beauty, *Theodota*, and with your Beauty, your Wit, which teaches you to caſt ſuch amorous Glances, to find ſuch winning Expreſſions, to favour them that eſteem you, and to ſcorn them that deſpiſe you, to viſit your Friend, with Concern, in his Sickneſs, and to rejoice with him in his Proſperities; in a Word, to oblige with all your Soul the Man who hath made you a Preſent of his Heart. Beſides, I doubt not but you are artful in Kiſſing, and in the Careſſes of Love, and that in all thoſe Actions you ſhew as much Wantonneſs as Deſire. And I dare affirm, That if you have any true Friends, you have not got them by bare Compliments, but by giving them ſenſible Tokens of your Love. I proteſt to you, ſaid *Theodota*, I do nothing of all you ſay. And yet, replied *Socrates*, it is well worth

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worth While to learn how to win the Heart of a Man the right Way; for Force is of no Use in acquiring or preserving a Friend, who is an Animal that is never caught nor tamed, but by Kindness and Pleasure. You say true, answered *Theodota*. You must therefore, said *Socrates*, behave yourself to your Lovers in such a Manner, as to require nothing of them but what they can easily do: And you must not fail to return their Favours in a proper Manner; for by so doing you will intirely win their Hearts, secure to yourself their Friendship for a great While, and receive eminent Services from them: But to oblige them to the highest Degree, you must grant them nothing but what they have first earnestly desired: For do you not observe that the most exquisite Dishes are distasteful to a Man who hath not an Appetite; nay, they even make us loath them, if we cram ourselves with them above Measure: Whereas if you can first create in us an Appetite, and then offer us to eat, whatever you give us seems excellent. How must I then do, said *Theodota?* The chief Thing you are to take Care of, answered *Socrates*, is never to offer any Favours to those who are glutted with them, you must not even mention any such Thing to them, till that great Satiety be worn off, and till they begin to wish for them anew. Then you must excite them by your Civilities, and manifest that you desire nothing more than their Satisfaction: And nevertheless still delay them, till their Passion be grown very violent: For a Favour granted to a Man in that Condition, is quite different from what it is when not pursued and courted with that Eagerness. Ah! *Socrates*, cried *Theodota*, why will not you help me to Friends? I will, replied *Socrates*, if you can persuade me to do so. And what Means must I use to prevail on you? You must invent the Means, said *Socrates*, if you want me to serve you. Then come to see me often, added *Theodota*.

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Theodota. *Socrates* laughed at the Simplicity of this Woman, and in Raillery ſaid to her, I have not Leiſure enough to come and ſee you: I have both publick and private Affairs, which take up too much of my Time. Beſides, I have Miſtreſſes, who will not ſuffer me to be from them neither Day nor Night, and who againſt myſelf make Uſe of the very Charms and Sorceries that I have taught them. And have you any Knowledge in thoſe Things too, ſaid ſhe? *Socrates* anſwered. Why do *Apollodorus* and *Antiſthenes* never leave me; why do *Cebes* and *Simmias* forſake *Thebes* for my Company? This they would not do, if I were not Maſter of ſome Charm. Lend it me, ſaid *Theodota*, that I may employ it againſt you, and charm you to come to me. No, ſaid *Socrates*, but I will charm you, and make you come to me. I will, ſaid *Theodata*, if you will promiſe to make me welcome. I promiſe you I will, anſwered *Socrates*, provided there be no Body with me whom I love better than you.

Among others who frequented *Socrates*, there was a young Man whoſe Name was *Epigenes*; he was very aukward in his Perſon and Behaviour, having never learnt nor uſed any Exerciſe: *Socrates* reproached him for it, and told him, That it was unworthy of any Man to be ſo negligent of himſelf: *Epigenes* ſlightly anſwered, That he was under no Obligation to do better. You are no leſs obliged to it, replied *Socrates*, than they who train themſelves up for the Olympick Games. For do you believe that to fight for ones Life againſt the Enemies of the Republick, which we are all obliged to do when the *Athenians* pleaſe to command us, is a leſs important Occaſion than to contend with Antagoniſts for a Prize? How many Men are there, who for want of Strength, fall in Battle; or have Recourſe to diſhonourable Means for their Safety? Some are taken Priſoners, and remain in Slavery all the reſt of their Days;

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Days; or are forced to pay so excessive a Ransom, as makes them uneasy ever afterwards: Others are ill thought of, and the Weakness of their Body is deemed Cowardice. And do you value so little all these Misfortunes, which constantly attend an ill Habit of Body, and do they seem to you so slight? In my Opinion, there are no Fatigues in the Exercises, but what are more easy and more agreeable. But perhaps you despise the Advantages of a good Disposition of Body? But Men in that Condition enjoy a perfect Health, they are robust and active, they come off in military Encounters with Honour, they escape Dangers, they succour their Friends, and render great Services to their Country. For these Reasons they are well received wherever they come, they are in good Reputation with all Men, they attain to the highest Offices, they live with more Honour and Ease, and leave their Posterity the most noble Examples. If therefore you do not practise the military Exercises in publick, you ought not to neglect them in private, but to apply your self to them with all possible Diligence. To have the Body active and healthy cannot be hurtful to you on any Occasions: And since we cannot do any Thing without the Body, it is certain that a good Constitution will be of great Advantage to us in all our Undertakings. In Improvements of the Mind, where there seems to be least need of it, we know many Persons who could never make any great Progress for want of Health. Forgetfulness, Melancholy, loss of Appetite, and Folly, are the Disorders that too frequently proceed from the Indisposition of the Body, and these Disorders sometimes seize the Mind with so great Violence, that they wipe out even all Remembrance of what we knew before. But in Health, we have nothing like this to fear, and consequently there is no

Health is necessary to Study.

Toil,

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Toil, which a prudent Man would not willingly undergo, to avoid all these Misfortunes. And indeed, it is shameful for a Man to grow old, before he has tried his own Strength, and known to what Degree of Strength and Gracefulness he can attain; which he can never know if he give himself over for useless; because Gracefulness and Strength of Body come not of themselves, but by Practice and Exercise.

A certain Man being vext that he had saluted one who did not return his Civility, *Socrates* said to him, It is ridiculous in you to be unconcerned when you meet a sick Man in the Way, and to be vext for having met a rude Fellow.

Another was saying that he had lost his Stomach, and could eat nothing. *Socrates* assured him that the Physician *Acumenus* had a Remedy would cure him; which was, to fast for some Time: And that he would be in better Health, not spend so much Money, and eat with more Satisfaction afterwards.

Another complained that the Water which came into his Cistern was warm, and nevertheless he was forced to drink it. You ought to be glad of it, said *Socrates*; for it is a Bath ready for you, whenever you have a Mind to bathe yourself. It is too cold to bathe in, replied the other. Do your Servants, said *Socrates*, find any Inconvenience in drinking it, or in bathing in it? No: But I wonder how they can suffer it. Is it, continued *Socrates*, warmer to drink than that of the Temple of *Æsculapius*? It is not near so warm. You see then, said *Socrates*, that you are harder to please than your own Servants, or even than the Sick themselves.

He speaks of a certain Spring that was in the Temple of Æsculapius at Athens.

A Master having beaten his Servant, *Socrates* asked him, why he was so angry with him? The Master

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Master answered, Because he is a Glutton, a lazy Fellow, who loves Money, and is always idle. Suppose he be so, said *Socrates:* But be your own Judge, and tell me, which of you two deserves rather to be punished for those Faults?

Another made a Difficulty of undertaking a Journey to * *Olympia:* What is the Reason, said *Socrates* to him, that you are so much afraid of walking, you, who walk up and down about your House almost all Day long? You ought to look upon this Journey to be only a Walk: And to think that you will walk away the Morning till Dinner-time, and the Afternoon till Supper, and thus you will insensibly find your self at your Journey's End. For it is certain, That in five or six Days you go more Ground in walking for your Pleasure, than you need to do, in going from *Athens* to *Olympia.* I will tell you one Thing more: It is much better to set out a Day too soon, than a Day too late: for it is troublesome to be forced to go long Journeys; and on the contrary, it is a great Ease to have the Advantage of a Day before-hand. You were better therefore hasten your Departure, than be obliged to make Haste upon the Road.

Another telling him that he had been a great Journey, and was extreamly weary; *Socrates* asked, if he had carried any Thing? The other answered, That he had carried nothing but his Cloak. Were you alone, said *Socrates?* No; I had a Slave with me. Was not he loaded, continued *Socrates?* Yes; for he carried all my Things. And how did he find himself upon the Road? Much better than I. And if you had been to carry what he did, what would have become of you? Alas! said he, I should never have

* This was a City of Peloponnesus, famous for the great Concourse of Greeks, who met there every fourth Year, to celebrate the Games which were from thence called Olympick.

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have been able to have done it. Is it not a ſhame, added *Socrates*, in a Man like you, who have gone through all the Exerciſes, not to be able to undergo as much Fatigue as his Slave?

Socrates having obſerved, that at publick Suppers every one brought his own Diſh of Meat, and that ſome brought more and others leſs on ſuch Occaſions, ordered a Servant to ſet the leaſt Diſh in the Middle of the Table, and to give ſome of it to all the Company: No Man could, in Civility, refuſe it, nor exempt himſelf from doing the like with his own Diſh; inſomuch, that every Man had a Taſte of the Whole, and all fared alike. This, in ſome Meaſure, baniſhed Luxury and Expenſiveneſs from theſe Feaſts. For they who would have laid out a great deal of Money in Delicacies, cared no longer to do ſo, becauſe they would have been as much for others as for themſelves.

Being one Day in theſe Aſſemblies, and ſeeing a young Man, who eat his Meat without Bread, he took Occaſion to rally him for it, upon a Queſtion that was ſtarted, touching the impoſing of Names. Can we give any Reaſon, ſaid he, why a Man is called *Fleſh-eater*, (that is to ſay, a great Devourer of Fleſh), for every Man eats Fleſh when he hath it: And I do not believe it to be upon that Account that a Man is ſo called. Nor I, either, ſaid one of the Company. But, continued *Socrates*, if a Man takes Delight to eat his Meat without Bread, do you not take him to be indeed a Fleſh-eater? I ſhould think it difficult to find another who better would deſerve that Name. Upon which, ſome Body elſe taking the Word, ſaid: What think you of him who eats a great deal of Meat with a little Bread? *Socrates* replied: I ſhould judge him too to be a Fleſh-eater: And whereas others pray to the Gods, to give them an Abundance of Fruits, ſuch Men ought to pray only for Abundance of Fleſh. The young

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young Man, whom *Socrates* had in View, ſuſpecting that he ſpoke upon his Account, took ſome Bread, but continued ſtill to eat a great deal of Fleſh with it. *Socrates* perceived him, and ſhewing him with his Finger to thoſe that ſate next to him, ſaid to them; take Notice of your Neighbour, and ſee whether it be the Meat that makes him eat his Bread, or the Bread that makes him eat his Meat.

On a like Occaſion, ſeeing a Man dip the ſame Morſel of Meat in ſeveral Sauces, he ſaid, Is it poſſible to make a Sauce that will coſt more, and be not ſo good, as one that is made by taking out of ſeveral different Sauces at once? For there being more Ingredients than uſual, no Doubt it coſts more: But then becauſe we mix Things together, which the Cooks never uſed to mingle, becauſe they agree not well with one another, we certainly ſpoil the whole: And is it not a Jeſt to be curious in having good Cooks, and at the ſame Time to be ſo fantaſtical as to alter the Reliſh of the Diſhes they have dreſſed. Beſides, when we have once got a Habitude of Eating thus of ſeveral Diſhes at once; we are not ſo well ſatisfied when we have no longer that Variety: Whereas a Man who contents himſelf to eat but of one Diſh at a Time, finds no great Inconvenience in having but one Diſh of Meat for his Dinner.

He made likewiſe this Remark: That to expreſs what the other *Greeks* called to eat a Meal, the *Athenians* ſaid, to * make good Cheer: And that the Word.

* I know this Phraſe is hardly Engliſh; but rather a *Galliciſm faire bonne chere*: however, I am forced to uſe it, becauſe our Language wants a Term to expreſs the Meaning of this Place otherwiſe. The Word in the Original is ἐυωχεῖσθαι which Pollux ſays the Greeks made uſe of to ſignify to Feaſt or Banquet, eſpecially in publick; but that Senſe will not ſerve here: And I was obliged to expreſs

Word *good* ſhews us, that we ought to eat ſuch Things only as will neither diſorder the Body nor the Mind, and which it is no trouble to meet with: From whence he inferred, that they alone, who live temperately and ſoberly, can truly be ſaid to make good Cheer, that is to ſay, to eat well.

expreſs the Signification of the Compoſition Particle εὖ: otherwiſe the true Meaning and Senſe of our Author would have been quite loſt.

BOOK IV.

THUS there was always ſome Improvement to be received from *Socrates*; and it muſt be owned that his Company and Converſation were very edifying; ſince even now, when he is no more among us, it is ſtill of Advantage to his Friends to call him to their Remembrance. And indeed, whether he ſpoke to divert himſelf, or whether he ſpoke ſeriouſly, he always gave ſome remarkable Inſtructions for the Benefit of all that heard him. He often ſaid, he was in Love; but it was eaſy to ſee, that he was not ſo with the Beauty of the Body; and that he courted only the Minds that were inclined to Virtue. Now he believed a young Man to have an excellent Foundation of Soul, when he readily learns what he is taught, and ſtrongly retains what he has learnt: As likewiſe when he is deſirous of knowing all that may be uſeful in the well-governing of a Family, or of a Republick, and the good Conduct of himſelf in all Affairs, and with all Perſons. And

Socrates in love.

What Men have good natural Inclinations.

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And his Opinion was, That when these good natural Parts are cultivated as they ought, such Men are not only happy themselves, and govern their Families prudently, but are capable likewise to render others happy, and Republicks flourishing. Therefore when he met with any who believed themselves Men of Parts, and who neglected Instruction, he proved to them, That Men of the best natural Parts, are they who have most need of Instruction, and he alledged the Example of a high-mettled Horse, who having more Courage and more Strength than others, is very serviceable, if he be broke and managed in his Youth; but if that be neglected, he grows so vicious that he is of no Service. Thus Dogs of a good Breed, and that by Nature are the most strong and mettlesome, are excellent for Game, if they are well taught: Otherwise they are apt to become high Rangers and at no Command. In like manner among Men, they who are blessed with the greatest Advantages of Nature, to whom she has given the most Courage and the greatest Strength to enable them to succeed in their Undertakings, are likewise the most virtuous, and do more Good than others, when they receive a proper Education: But if they remain without Instruction, they fall into an Excess of Vice, and become most pernicious to themselves and others. For merely for want of knowing their Duty, they often engage in very wicked Designs: and being imperious and violent, it is very difficult to keep them within Bounds, and to perswade them to change their Resolution: Which is the Reason they do a great deal of Mischief. On the other Hand, when he saw any of those Men, who trusting to their Estates, believe themselves above Instruction, or to have no

Men of the best natural Parts have most need of Instruction.

Riches make not Men of Parts.

Need

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Need of it, and that their Riches alone are ſufficient to gain them the Eſteem of the World, and to make them ſucceed in all their Undertakings, he convinced them of their Error, telling them, that he is a Fool who imagines with himſelf that he can know the Things that are uſeful from thoſe that are hurtful, without having ever learnt the Difference, or who not diſcerning between them, fondly thinks that becauſe he has wherewithal to buy whatever he has a Mind to, he can therefore do whatever may tend to his Advantage; or who judging himſelf incapable to do what is uſeful for himſelf, thinks nevertheleſs that he is well in the World, and in a ſafe and happy Condition of Life. That it is likewiſe a Folly for a Man to perſuade himſelf, that being rich, and having no Merit, he will paſs for a Man of Parts; or that not having the Reputation of being a Man of Parts, he ſhall nevertheleſs be eſteemed. But when he found any who ſoothed themſelves up in the Belief that they are well inſtructed, and who boaſt of their own Sufficiency, he chaſtiſed their Vanity in this Manner. He had been told that *Euthydemus* had bought up ſeveral Works of the moſt celebrated Poets and Sophiſts, and that on this Account he was ſo puffed up with Arrogance, that he already eſteemed himſelf the greateſt Man of the Age, for Learning and Parts, and pretended to no leſs than being the firſt Man of the City, either for Negotiating, or Diſcourſing in publick. Nevertheleſs, he was ſtill ſo young, that he was not admitted into the Aſſemblies of the People, and if he had any Affair to ſollicit, he generally came and placed himſelf in one of the Shops that were near the Courts of Juſtice. *Socrates* having obſerved his Station, failed not

Common Error of the Rich who ſtudy.

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not to go thither likewiſe with two or three of his Friends: And there, falling into Diſcourſe, this Queſtion was ſtarted: Whether *Themiſtocles* had improved himſelf by converſing with Philoſophers; or whether he had advanced himſelf to that high Rank, which he held among the Citizens, by the Strength of his natural Parts only; inſomuch that all the Republick caſt their Eyes upon him, whenever their Affairs required the Conduct of an excellent Man. *Socrates*, who had a Mind to reflect upon *Euthydemus*, anſwered, That a Man muſt be very ſtupid to believe that mechanick Arts cannot be learnt without Maſters, and that the Art of governing States, which requires the greateſt Effort of human Prudence, ariſes from Nature. And this was all that paſſed in this firſt Interview.

Socrates falls upon Euthydemus.

After this, *Socrates* obſerving that *Euthydemus* always avoided his Company, leſt he ſhould be taken for one of his Admirers, attacked him more openly, and once when he happened to be where he was, addreſſed himſelf to the reſt of the Company in theſe Words. Certainly, Gentlemen, by what may be conjectured from the Studies of this young Man, it is very likely, that when he ſhall have attained the Age that permits him to be preſent in the Aſſemblies of the People, if any important Affair be debated there, he will not fail to give his Judgment of it: And in my Opinion, he would introduce his Harangue by a very pleaſing Exordium, if he ſhould begin with giving them to underſtand, that he had never learnt any Thing of any Man whatſoever: He muſt addreſs himſelf to them in Words to this Purpoſe. Gentlemen, I have never been taught any Thing,

Euthydemus avoids Socrates.

Cunning of Socrates to keep him in his Company.

I never

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I never frequented the Converſation of Men of Parts, I never gave myſelf the Trouble to look out for a Maſter that was able to inſtruct me. On the contrary, Gentlemen, I have not only had an Averſion to learn from others, but I would not even have it believed I had received Inſtruction: Nevertheleſs, I will venture to tell you what Chance ſhall ſuggeſt to me on this preſent Occaſion. At this Rate, they who preſent themſelves to be received Phyſicians, might uſe the like Diſcourſe, as thus: Gentlemen, I have never had any Maſter to teach me this Science: For indeed, I would never learn it, nor even have the Repute of having learnt it: Nevertheleſs, admit me a Phyſician, and I will endeavour to become learned in the Art by making Experiments on your Bodies.

All the Company fell a laughing at this pleaſant Preface: And from that Time *Euthydemus* never avoided *Socrates* Company as before; but he never offered to ſpeak, believing that his Silence would be an Argument of his Modeſty. *Socrates* being deſirous to diſabuſe him of that Miſtake, ſpoke to him in this Manner. I wonder that they who deſire to learn to play upon the Lute, or to ride well, do not endeavour to learn it alone by themſelves; but that they look out for Maſters, reſolving to follow their Advice and Inſtructions, there being no other Way to arrive at Perfection in thoſe Arts; and that they who hope one Day to govern the Republick, and to ſpeak before the People, imagine they can qualify themſelves for that Purpoſe of a ſudden. Nevertheleſs it muſt be owned that theſe Imployments are more difficult than the others; ſince among the great Number of Perſons, who puſh themſelves into Office, ſo few diſcharge their Duty as they ought. This ſhews us, That more Labour and Diligence is required in ſuch as would capacitate themſelves for thoſe Offices, than for any Thing elſe.

By

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By these Discourses, *Socrates* having prepared the Mind of *Euthydemus* to hearken to what he intended to say to him, and to enter into Conference with him, he came another Time by himself into the same Shop, and taking a Seat next to this young Man, I have heard, said he to him, That you have been curious in buying a great many good Books. I have, said *Euthydemus*, and continue to do so every Day, designing to have as many as I can get. I commend you very much, said *Socrates*, for chusing rather to hoard up a Treasure of Learning and Knowledge, than of Money. For you testify by so doing, that you are not of Opinion, that Riches render Men more valuable; but that the Writings of those great Men who have lived before us, are inexhaustible Treasures of Virtue in the Minds of those that possess them. *Euthydemus* was pleased to hear him say this, believing that he approved his Method; and *Socrates* perceiving his Satisfaction, went on: But what is your Design in making a Collection of so many Books? Do you intend to be a Physician? There are many Books in that Science. That is not my Design, said *Euthydemus*. Will you be an Architect then, said *Socrates?* for that Art requires a learned Man. Or do you study Geometry, or Astrology? None of them. Do you mean to be a Reciter of heroick Verses, continued *Socrates?* for I have been told that you have all *Homer*'s Works. Not in the least, answered *Euthydemus*, for I have observed that Men of that Profession, know indeed a great many Verses by Heart, but for any Thing else, they are for the most Part very illiterate. Perhaps you are in Love with that noble Science of Politicks and Oeconomy, which renders Men capable to govern, and to be useful both to others and to themselves? That is what

Excellent Conversation between Socrates and Euthydemus.

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what I endeavour to learn, ſaid *Euthydemus*, and what I paſſionately deſire to know. It is a ſublime Science, replied *Socrates*; it is that we call the Royal Science, becauſe it truly is the Science of Kings. But have you weighed this Point; whether a Man can excel in that Science without being an honeſt Man? I have, ſaid the young Man, and am even of Opinion, That none but honeſt Men can be good Citizens. And are you an honeſt Man, ſaid *Socrates?* He anſwered, I hope I am as honeſt a Man as another. Tell me, ſaid *Socrates*, can we know who are honeſt Men by what they do, as we know of what Trade a Man is by his Work? We may. Then, ſaid *Socrates*, as Architects ſhew us their Works, can honeſt Men ſhew us theirs likewiſe? No doubt of it, replied *Euthydemus:* And it is no difficult Taſk to ſhew you which are the Works of Juſtice, and which thoſe of Injuſtice, that we ſo often hear mentioned. Shall we, ſaid *Socrates*, make two Marks, one to ſignify Juſtice, the other Injuſtice: And write under one of them all the Works that belong to Juſtice, and under the other all that belong to Injuſtice? Do, ſaid *Euthydemus*, if you think fit. *Socrates* having done what he propoſed, continued thus his Diſcourſe. Do not Men tell Lies? Very often, anſwered *Euthydemus*. Under which Head ſhall we put Lying? Under that of Injuſtice, ſaid *Euthydemus*. Is it not uſual for Men to cheat? Moſt certainly. Where ſhall we put Cheating, ſaid *Socrates?* Under Injuſtice. And doing Wrong to ones Neighbour? There likewiſe. And the ſelling of free Perſons into Slavery? In the ſame Place. And ſhall we write none of all theſe, ſaid *Socrates*, under the Head of Juſtice? Not one of them, anſwered *Euthydemus*, it would be ſtrange if we

Of Juſtice and Injuſtice.

Actions of Injuſtice.

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we did. But what, replied *Socrates*, when a General plunders an Enemy's City, and makes Slaves of all the Inhabitants, ſhall we ſay that he commits an Injuſtice? By no Means. Shall we own then that he does an Act of Juſtice? Without Doubt. And when he circumvents his Enemies in the Field, does he not act right? Very right. And when he ravages their Lands, and takes away their Cattle and their Corn, does he not act juſtly? It is certain he does, ſaid *Euthydemus*, and when I anſwered you, that all theſe Actions were unjuſt, I thought you had ſpoken of them in Regard only of Friend to Friend. We muſt therefore, replied *Socrates*, put among the Actions of Juſtice, thoſe very Actions we have aſcribed to Injuſtice: And we will only eſtabliſh this Diſtinction, that it is juſt to behave ourſelves ſo towards our Enemies; but that to treat our Friends thus, is an Injuſtice, becauſe we ought to live with them uprightly, and without any Deceit. I think ſo, ſaid *Euthydemus*. But, continued *Socrates*, when a General ſees that his Troops begin to be diſheartened, if he make them believe that a great Reinforcement is coming to him, and by that Stratagem inſpires freſh Courage into the Soldiers, under what Head ſhall we place this Lie? Under the Head of Juſtice, anſwered *Euthydemus*. And when a Child will not take the Phyſick that is neceſſary for him, and his Father makes it be given him in a Meſs of Broth, and by that Means the Child recovers his Health, to which ſhall we aſcribe this Deceit? To Juſtice likewiſe. And if a Man, who ſees his Friend in Deſpair, and fears he will kill himſelf, hides his Sword from him, or takes if out of his

Socrates refutes all that Euthydemus had granted.

Diſtinction which Euthydemus agrees to.

Socrates confutes him again.

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Hands by Force, what ſhall we ſay of this Violence? That it is juſt, replied *Euthydemus*. Obſerve what you ſay, continued *Socrates*: For it follows from your Anſwers, That we are not always obliged to live with our Friends uprightly, and without any Deceit, as we agreed before. No, certainly we are not: And if I may be permitted to retract what I ſaid, I change my Opinion very freely. It is better ſaid *Socrates*, to change an Opinion, than to perſiſt in a wrong one. But there is ſtill one Point, which we muſt not paſs over without Inquiry: And this relates to thoſe whoſe Deceits are prejudicial to their Friends: For I aſk you, which are moſt Unjuſt, they who with premeditate Deſign cheat their Friends, or they who do it through Inadvertency? Indeed, ſaid *Euthydemus*, I know not what to anſwer, nor what to believe: For you have ſo fully refuted what I have ſaid, that what appeared to me before in one Light, appears to me now in another. Nevertheleſs, I will venture to ſay, That he is the moſt unjuſt who deceives his Friend deliberately. Do you think, ſaid *Socrates*, that one may learn to be juſt and honeſt, as well as we learn to read and write? I think we may. Which, added *Socrates*, do you take to be the moſt ignorant, he who reads wrong on purpoſe, or he who reads wrong, becauſe he can read no better? The laſt of them, anſwered *Euthydemus*; for the other who miſtakes for Pleaſure, need not miſtake when he pleaſes. Then, inferred *Socrates*, he who reads wrong deliberately, knows how to read; but he who reads wrong without Deſign, is ignorant. You ſay true. Tell me likewiſe, purſued *Socrates*, which knows beſt what ought to be done,

Whether it be more unjuſt to cheat premeditately than without Deſign.

Euthydemus thinks it more unjuſt to cheat deliberately, and Socrates proves the contrary.

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done, and what belongs to Juſtice, he who lies and cheats with premeditate Deſign, or he who deceives without an Intention to deceive? It is moſt plain, ſaid *Euthydemus*, that it is he who deceives with premeditate Deſign. But you ſaid, replied *Socrates*, that he who can read is more learned than he who cannot read? I did ſo. Therefore he who beſt knows which are the Duties of Juſtice, is more juſt, than he that knows them not. It ſeems to be ſo, anſwered *Euthydemus*, and I know not well how I came to ſay what I did. Indeed, ſaid *Socrates*, you often change your Opinion, and contradict what you ſay: And what would you think of any Man, who pretended to tell Truth, and yet never ſaid the ſame Thing, who to teach you the ſame Road, ſhould ſhew you ſometimes Eaſt, ſometimes Weſt; and who in the ſame Sum ſhould find more Money at one Time than another; what would you think of ſuch a Man? He would make all Men think, anſwered *Euthydemus*, that he knew nothing of what he pretended to know. *Socrates* urged him yet farther, and aſked him: Have you ever heard that ſome Men have abject and ſervile Minds? I have. Is it ſaid of them, becauſe they are learned, or becauſe they are ignorant? Surely becauſe they are ignorant. Perhaps, ſaid *Socrates*, it is becauſe they underſtand not the Trade of a Smith? Not in the leaſt for that. Is it becauſe they know not how to build a Houſe, or to make a Pair of Shoes? On the contrary, ſaid *Euthydemus*, moſt who are ſkilled in ſuch Profeſſions, have abject and ſervile Minds. This Character then, purſued *Socrates*, muſt be given to thoſe who are ignorant of the noble Sciences, and who know not what is juſt, or what is honourable? I believe ſo. We ought therefore, *Euthydemus*, to do all we can to avoid falling into that ignominious Ignorance that ſinks us down ſo

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Confuſion of Euthydemus.

low. Alas! *Socrates*, cried he out, I will not lie for the Matter; I thought I knew ſomething in Philoſophy, and that I had learnt whatever was requiſite to be known by a Man who deſired to practiſe Virtue: But judge how much I am afflicted to ſee, that after all my Labours, I am not able to anſwer you concerning Things which I ought chiefly to know; and yet I am at a Loſs what Method to purſue, in order to render myſelf more learned in the Things I deſire to know. Upon this, *Socrates* aſked him, if he had ever been at *Delphos*, and *Euthydemus* anſwered, That he had been there twice. Did you not take Notice, ſaid *Socrates*, that ſomewhere on the Front of the Temple there is this Inſcription, KNOW THYSELF? He anſwered, I remember I have read it there. It is not enough, replied *Socrates*, to have read it: Have you been the better for this Admonition? Have you given yourſelf the Trouble of examining yourſelf? I think I know myſelf well enough, replied the young Man, for I ſhould have found it very difficult to have known any other Thing, if I had not known myſelf. But for a Man to know himſelf well, ſaid *Socrates*, it is not enough that he knows his own Name: For as a Man that buys a Horſe, cannot be certain that he knows what he is, before he has rid him, to ſee whether he be quiet or reſtiff, whether he be mettleſome or dull, whether he be fleet or heavy; in ſhort, before he has made trial of all that is good and bad in him, in like Manner a Man cannot ſay that he knows himſelf, before he has tried what he is fit for, and what he is able to do. It is true, ſaid *Euthydemus*, that whoever knows not his own Strength, knows not himſelf. But, continued *Socrates*, who ſees not of how great Advantage this Knowledge is to Man, and how

Of the Knowledge of one's ſelf.

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dangerous it is to be miſtaken in this Affair: For he who knows himſelf, knows likewiſe what is good for himſelf. He ſees what he is able to do, and what he is not able to do: By applying himſelf to Things that he can do, he gets his Bread with Eaſe, and is happy: And by not attempting Things beyond his reach, he avoids the Danger of falling into Errors, and of ſeeing himſelf miſerable. By knowing himſelf, he knows likewiſe how to judge of others, and to make uſe of their Services for his own Advantage, either to procure himſelf ſome Good, or to protect himſelf from ſome Evil: But he who knows not himſelf, and is miſtaken in the Opinion he hath of his own Abilities, miſtakes likewiſe in the Knowledge of others, and in the Conduct of his own Affairs. He is ignorant of what is neceſſary for him, he knows not what he undertakes, nor comprehends the Means he uſeth, and this is the Reaſon that Succeſs never attends his Enterprizes, and that he always falls into Misfortunes. But the Man who ſees clear into his own Deſigns, generally obtains the End he propoſes to himſelf, and at the ſame Time gains Reputation and Honour. For this Reaſon even his Equals are well pleaſed to follow his Advices; and they whoſe Affairs are in Diſorder, implore his Aſſiſtance, and throw themſelves into his Hands, depending upon his Prudence to retrieve their former Welfare. But he who undertakes he knows not what, generally makes an ill Choice of the Means, and his Succeſs is even worſe; and the preſent Damage is not the only Puniſhment he undergoes for his Temerity; he is diſgraced for ever, all Men laugh at him, all deſpiſe and ſpeak ill of him. Conſider likewiſe what happens to Republicks, who miſtake their own Strength, and declare War againſt States more powerful than themſelves: Some are utterly ruined; others loſe their Liberty, and are forced to receive Laws from the Conquerors.

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I am fully satisfied, said *Euthydemus*, that a great deal depends on the Knowledge of one's self: I hope you will now tell me, by what a Man must begin to examine himself. You know, said *Socrates*, what Things are good, and what are evil. Indeed, answered *Euthydemus*, if I knew not that, I were the last of all Men. Then tell me your Thoughts of this Matter, said *Socrates*. First, said *Euthydemus*, I hold that Health is a Good, and Sickness an Evil, and that whatever contributes to either of them, participates of the same Qualities. Thus Nourishment and the Exercises that keep the Body in Health, are very good; and on the contrary those that bring Disorders are hurtful. But would it not be better to say, replied *Socrates*, that Health and Sickness are both good, when they are the Causes of any Good, and that they are both evil when they are the Causes of any Ill? And when can it ever happen, said *Euthydemus*, that Health is the Cause of any Ill, and Sickness the Cause of any Good? This may happen, answered *Socrates*, when Troops are raised for any Enterprize that proves fatal, when Men are embarked who are destined to perish at Sea: For Men who are in Health may be involved in these Misfortunes, when they who by reason of their Infirmities are left at Home, will be exempted from the Mischiefs in which the others perish. You say true, said *Euthydemus*, but you see too that Men who are in Health, are present on fortunate Occasions, while they who are confined to their Beds, cannot be there. It must therefore be granted, said *Socrates*, that these Things which are sometimes useful, and sometimes hurtful, cannot be called good more than bad.

Another Interrogation of Socrates concerning Things good and evil.

Health and Sickness are in themselves neither good nor bad.

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bad. That is indeed, the Conſequence of your Argument, replied *Euthydemus*; but it cannot be denied that Knowledge is a good Thing: For what is there in which a knowing Man has not the Advantage of an Ignorant? And have you not read, ſaid *Socrates*, what happened to poor *Dædalus* for his Skill in ſo many excellent Arts, and how falling into the Hands of *Minos*, he was detained by Force, and ſaw himſelf at once baniſhed from his Country, and deprived of his Liberty? To compleat his Misfortune, flying away with his Son, he was the Occaſion of his being miſerably loſt, and could not, after all, eſcape in his own Perſon; for falling into the Hands of Barbarians, he was again made a Slave. Know you not likewiſe the Adventure of *Palamedes*, who was ſo envied by *Ulyſſes* for his great Capacity, and periſhed wretchedly by the calumnious Artifices of that Rival. How many great Men likewiſe, has the King of *Perſia* cauſed to be ſeized and carried away, becauſe of their admirable Parts, and who are now languiſhing under him in a perpetual Slavery? But granting this to be as you ſay, added *Euthydemus*, you will certainly allow good Fortune to be a real Good? I will, ſaid *Socrates*, provided this good Fortune conſiſts in Things that are indubitably good. And how can it be that the Things which compoſe good Fortune ſhould not be really good? They are, anſwered *Socrates*; unleſs you reckon among them, Beauty and Strength of Body, Riches, Honours, and other Things of that Nature. And how can a Man be happy without them? Rather, ſaid *Socrates*, how can a Man be happy with Things that are the Cauſes of ſo many Misfortunes? For many are daily corrupted becauſe of their Beauty; many, preſuming too much on their own Strength, are oppreſſed under the weight of their Undertakings: Among the Rich,

All that is called good Fortune, is not ſo.

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Rich, ſome are loſt in Luxury, and others fall into the Snares of thoſe that wait for their Eſtates. And laſtly, The Reputation and Honours that are acquired in Republicks, are often the Cauſe of the Ruin of thoſe who poſſeſs them. Certainly, ſaid *Euthydemus*, if I am in the wrong to praiſe good Fortune, I know not for what we ought to petition the Gods. Perhaps too, replied *Socrates*, you have never conſidered it, becauſe you think you know it well enough. But, continued he, changing the Subject of their Diſcourſe, ſeeing you are preparing yourſelf to enter upon the Government of our Republick, where the People are Maſter, without doubt you have reflected on this State, and know the Nature of a Democracy? You ought to believe I do. And do you think it poſſible, ſaid *Socrates*, to know what a Democracy or popular State is, without knowing what the People is? I do not think I can. And what is the People, ſaid *Socrates*? Under that Name, anſwered *Euthydemus*, I comprehend the poor Citizens. You know then who are the Poor? I do, ſaid *Euthydemus*. Do you know too who are the Rich? I know that too. Tell me then, who are the Rich, and who are the Poor?

Of the Poor, and of the Rich.

Euthydemus anſwered: I take the Poor to be—thoſe who have not enough to ſupply their neceſſary Expences, and the Rich to be they who have more than they have Occaſion for. But have you obſerved, replied *Socrates*, that there are certain Perſons, who though they have very little, have nevertheleſs ſufficient to ſupport themſelves, and even lay up ſome ſmall Matter out of that little; and on the contrary, there are others who never have enough for their Support, how great ſoever be their Eſtates and Poſſeſſions? You put me in Mind, ſaid *Euthydemus*, of ſomething very much to the Purpoſe:

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For I have seen Princes so necessitous, that they have been compelled to take away the Estates of their Subjects, and to commit many Injustices. We must then, said *Socrates*, place such Princes in the Rank of the Poor; and those who have but small Estates, yet manage them well, in the Number of the Rich? I must give Consent to all you say, answered *Euthydemus*, for I am too ignorant to contradict you; and I think it will be best for me from henceforward to be Silent: For I am almost ready to confess that I know nothing at all.

Euthydemus withdraws full of Confusion from Socrates.

Having said this, he withdrew full of Confusion and Self-contempt, beginning to be conscious to himself that he was indeed little or nothing. Nor was he the only Person, whom *Socrates* had thus convinced of their Insufficiency; several of whom never came more to see him, and valued him the less for it: But *Euthydemus* did not act like them: On the contrary, he believed it impossible for him to improve his Parts, but by frequent Conversations with *Socrates*: Insomuch that he never left him, unless some Business of Moment called him away; and he even took Delight in imitating some of his Actions. *Socrates* seeing him thus altered from what he was, was tender of saying any Thing to him, that might rebuke or discourage him; but took Care to speak more freely and plainly to him, of the Things he ought to know, and to pursue.

Excellent Method of Socrates.

To proceed: *Socrates* never pressed his Friends to enter early into publick Offices, believing it best to instruct them first in Morality, without which all other Qualifications would serve only to render them more wicked and more capable of doing ill Things. Above all, he endeavoured to create in them Sentiments of Piety towards the Gods.

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But seeing several have already written what they had heard him say on divers Occasions upon this Subject, I will content myself with relating some Things which he said to *Euthydemus*, when I myself was present.

Another Conversation between Socrates and Euthydemus touching the Divine Providence.

Have you never reflected, *Euthydemus*, on the great Goodness of the Gods, in giving to Men whatever they want? He answered, Indeed I never have. You see, replied *Socrates*, how very necessary Light is for us, and how the Gods give it us. You say true, answered *Euthydemus*, and without Light we should be like the Blind. But because we have need of Repose, they have given us the Night to rest in. You are in the right, said *Euthydemus*, and we ought to render them many Praises for it. Moreover, continued *Socrates*, as the Sun is a luminous Body, and by the Brightness of his Beams discovers to us all visible Things, and shews us the Hours of the Day; and as on the contrary the Night is dusky and obscure, they have made the Stars appear, which during the Absence of the Sun mark the Hours to us. They have likewise made the Moon to shine, which not only shews us the Hours of the Night, but teaches us to know the Time of the Month. All this is true, said *Euthydemus*. Have you not taken Notice likewise, that having need of Nourishment, they supply us with it by the Means of the Earth: How excellently the Seasons are ordered for the Fruits of the Earth, of which we have such an Abundance, and so great a Variety, that we find not only wherewith to ease our Necessities, but to satisfy even Luxury itself? This Goodness of the Gods, cried *Euthydemus*, is an Evidence of the great Love they bear to Men. What say you, continued *Socrates* to their Goodness in giving us Water, which is so necessary for all Things? For it is that which assists

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assists the Earth to produce the Fruits, and that contributes with the Influences of the Heavens to bring them to Maturity: It helps to nourish us, and by being mingled with what we eat, renders it more easy to be dressed, more useful, and more agreeable: In short, being of so universal an Use, is it not an admirable Providence that has made it so common? What say you to their Gift of Fire, which defends us from Cold, which lights us when it is dark, which is useful to us in all Trades, and necessary in the most excellent and useful Inventions of Men? Without Exaggeration, said *Euthydemus*, this Goodness is infinite. What say you, besides, pursued *Socrates*, to see that after the Winter, the Sun returns to us, and that proportionably as he brings the new Fruits to Maturity, he withers and dries those whose Season is passing away: That after having done us this Service he retires, that his Heat may not incommode us: And then, when he is gone back to a certain Point, which he cannot transgress, without endangering our Health with Cold, he returns again to his Place in this Part of the Heavens, where his Presence is most advantageous to us? And because we should not be able to support either Cold or Heat, if we passed in an Instant from one Extreme to the other, do you not admire that this Luminary approaches us, and withdraws himself from us by so just and slow Degrees, that we arrive at the two Extremes, without almost perceiving the Change? All these Things, said *Euthydemus*, make me Doubt, whether the Gods employ themselves in any other Things than the Service of Mankind. One Thing puts me to a Stand, that the irrational Animals participate of all these Advantages with us. How! said *Socrates*; and do you then doubt whether these are in the World for any other End, than for the Service of Man?

The irrational Animals are only for the Service of Man.

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Man? What other Animals do, like us, make uſe of Horſes, of Oxen, of Dogs, of Goats, and of all the reſt? Nay, I am of Opinion, That Man receives not ſo much Advantage and Commodity from the Earth, as from Animals: For the greateſt Part of Mankind live not on the Fruits of the Earth, but feed on Milk, Cheeſe, and the Fleſh of Beaſts: They get the Maſtery over them, they make them tame, and uſe them to their great Advantage in War, and for the other Neceſſities of Life. I own it, ſaid *Euthydemus:* For ſome of them are much ſtronger than Man, and yet are ſo obedient to him, that he does with them whatever he liſt. Admire yet farther the Goodneſs of the Gods, ſaid *Socrates*, and conſider, that as there is in the World an infinite Number of excellent Things, but of very different Natures, they have given us Senſes, that anſwer to each, by whoſe Means we enjoy all of them. They have endowed us with Underſtanding, by which we inquire into, and retain the Things which the Senſes diſcover to us, and are taught for what they are proper: Which makes us find ſo many admirable Inventions for our Eaſe and Protection from Inconveniencies. They have likewiſe given us Speech, which ſerves us to communicate reciprocally to one another all Sorts of good Things, and by which Laws are promulgated, and Republicks governed. In ſhort, as we cannot always foreſee what will happen to us, nor know what it will be beſt for us to do, they offer us likewiſe their Aſſiſtance by the Means of the Oracles: They diſcover the Future to us when we conſult them, and teach us how to govern our ſelves in our Affairs. Here *Euthydemus* interrupting him, ſaid. And indeed theſe Gods are in this Regard more favourable to you than to the reſt of Mankind; ſince without expecting you to conſult them, they give you Notice of what you ought, or ought not, to do. You will allow therefore

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fore that I told you true, ſaid *Socrates*, when I told you there were Gods, and that they take great Care of Men: But expect not that they will appear to you, and preſent themſelves before your Eyes: Let it ſuffice you to behold their Works, and to adore them, and be perſuaded that this is the Way by which they manifeſt themſelves to Men: For among all the Gods that are ſo beneficent to us, there is not one who renders himſelf viſible to confer on us his Favours. And this ſupreme God, who founded the Univerſe, and ſupports this great Work, whoſe every Part is accompliſhed in Beauty and Goodneſs: He, who is the Cauſe that none of its Parts grow old with Time, and that they preſerve themſelves always in an immortal Vigour; who is the Cauſe that they inviolably obey his Laws, with a Readineſs ſurpaſſing our Imagination; he, I ſay, is viſible enough in the ſo many wondrous Works of which he is Author; but our Eyes cannot penetrate even into his Throne, to behold him in theſe great Occupations: And in that Manner it is that he is always inviſible. Do but conſider that the Sun, which ſeems to be expoſed to the Sight of all the World, does not ſuffer us to gaze with fixed Eyes upon him; and whoever has the Temerity to undertake it, is puniſhed with ſudden Blindneſs. Beſides, whatever the Gods make uſe of is inviſible: The Thunder is lanced from Above, it ſhatters all it finds in its Way; but we ſee it not fall, we ſee it not ſtrike, we ſee it not return. The Winds are inviſible, though we ſee the Deſolations they daily make, and eaſily feel when they grow boiſterous. If there be any thing in Man that participates of the Divine Nature, it is his Soul, which, beyond all diſpute, guides and governs him; and yet we cannot ſee it. Let all this therefore

The Gods are inviſible.

Socrates acknowledges one ſupreme God.

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therefore teach you, not to despise the Things that are invisible: Learn to know their Power by their Effects, and to honour the Deity. I am sure, said *Euthydemus*, I shall never derogate from the Respect due to the Gods; and I am even troubled that every Man cannot sufficiently acknowledge the Benefits he receives from them. Be not afflicted at that, said *Socrates*, for you know what Answer the *Delphian* Oracle is wont to return to those who inquire what they ought to do in order to make an acceptable Sacrifice to the Gods, *Follow the Custom of your Country*, says he to them: Now it is a Custom received in all Places for every Man to sacrifice to them according to his Power; and by Consequence there is not a better nor a more pious Way of honouring the Gods than that, since they themselves ordain and approve it. It is indeed a Truth, that we ought not to spare any thing of what we are able to offer, for that would be a manifest Contempt: When therefore a Man has done all in his Power, he ought to fear nothing, and hope for every thing: For from whence can we reasonably hope for more, than from those in whose Power it is to do us the greatest Good? And by what other Way can we more easily obtain it, than by making ourselves acceptable to them? And what better Method is there of making ourselves acceptable to them, than by doing their Will? This is what *Socrates* taught, and by this Doctrine, which was always accompanied with an exemplary Devotion, he greatly advanced his Friends in Piety.

God asks nothing of us but what we are able to do.

Concerning Justice, it cannot be said, that he concealed his Opinion of it; for he plainly revealed his Sentiments by his Actions, as well in publick as in private, making it his Business to serve every Man, and

Actions of Justice done by Socrates.

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and to obey the Magiſtrates, and the Laws: Inſomuch that in the Army as well as in the City, his Obedience rendered him remarkable above all others. He fully diſcovered the Integrity of his Soul, when he preſided in the Aſſemblies of the People: He would never paſs a Decree, that was contrary to the Laws; he alone defended the Cauſe of Juſtice againſt the Efforts of the Multitude, and oppoſed a Violence which no Man but himſelf was able to reſiſt. When the Thirty commanded him any Thing that was unjuſt, he did not obey them: Thus when they forbid him to ſpeak to the young Men, he regarded not their Inhibition: And when they gave Orders to him, as well as to ſome other Citizens, to bring before them a certain Man, whom they intended to put to Death, he alone refuſed to act in it, becauſe that Order was unjuſt: In like Manner, when he was accuſed by *Melitus*, though on ſuch Occaſions others endeavour to gain their Judges by Flatteries and ignominious Sollicitations, which often procure them their Pardon, he would not put in Practice any of theſe unworthy Artifices that are repugnant to the Laws, and yet he might very eaſily have procured himſelf to be acquitted, if he could have prevailed with himſelf to comply in the leaſt with the Cuſtom: But he choſe rather to die in an exact Obſervance of the Laws, than to ſave his Life by any mean or indirect Practices: And this was the Anſwer he gave to ſeveral of his Friends, who adviſed him to the contrary.

Converſation of Socrates with Hippias, concerning Juſtice.

I remember likewiſe a Converſation that he had with *Hippias* of *Elis*, on the Subject of Juſtice, or of the Duty of a good Man. *Hippias* had not been at *Athens* for a long Time, and being arrived there, he happened to come to a Place where *Socrates* was diſcourſing with ſome Perſons and telling them; That if any one had a Mind to learn a Trade,

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Trade, there wanted not Masters to teach him: Nay, That if one would have a Horse trained up, there were Persons to undertake it: But that if one desired to learn to be a good Man, or to have his Son, or any of his Family taught to be so, it would be difficult to know to whom to apply himself.

Raillery of Hippias handsomely returned.

Hippias rallying him, said. What! *Socrates*, you are still repeating the same Things I heard you say so long ago? Nay more, replied *Socrates*, and always upon the same Subject: But you, perhaps, being learned as you are, do not always say the same Thing upon the same Subject? Indeed, said *Hippias*, I always endeavour to say something new. Is it possible, replied *Socrates*? And if you were asked how many Letters there are in my Name, and which they are, would you answer sometimes in one Manner, and sometimes in another? Or if you were asked if twice five be not ten, would you not always say the same Thing? In Subjects like those, said *Hippias*, I should be obliged to say the same Thing as well as you: But since we are upon the Theme of Justice, I believe I can now say some Things of it, against which, neither you, nor any Man else, can make an Objection. Oh Gods! cried *Socrates*: This is to boast that you have made an admirable Discovery: For if you could establish one single Opinion of Justice, the Judges would be no longer divided in their Sentiments, there would be no more Disputes, no more Suits at Law, no more Quarrels among Citizens, no more Wars between Republicks. Indeed it much troubles me to leave you before you have taught me this Secret, which you say you have discovered. I give you

Old reproach laid to Socrates, of which he justifies himself.

my Word, answered *Hippias*, that I will tell you nothing of it, till you have first declared your Opinion concerning Justice: For it is your

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your old Way to interrogate others, and then to laugh at them by refuting what they have ſaid: But you never make known your own Opinions, that you may not be obliged to give a Reaſon for them. Why do you lay this to my Charge, ſaid *Socrates*, ſince I am continually ſhewing to all the World, what are the Things I believe to be juſt? How do you ſhew it, ſaid *Hippias?* If I explain it not by my Words, anſwered *Socrates*, my Actions declare it ſufficiently; and do you think that Actions deſerve not more Credit than Words? Much more, ſaid *Hippias*, for many who preach up Juſtice, are indeed very unjuſt; but this cannot be ſaid of a Man whoſe every Action is good. Have you known, ſaid *Socrates*, that I have accuſed any Man out of Malice, that I have ſown Diſſenſion among Friends, that I have excited Seditions in Republicks; in ſhort, that I have committed any other Sort of Injuſtice? Not in the leaſt, ſaid he. Well then, added *Socrates*, do you not take him to be juſt, who commits no Manner of Injuſtice? It is plain, ſaid *Hippias*, that you have a Mind to get looſe, and that you will not ſpeak frankly to us concerning Juſtice: For you do not tell us what good Men do; but ſay only what they do not. I thought, anſwered *Socrates*, that not to do any ill Thing, was a ſufficient Proof of Juſtice: But ſince you will not allow it to be ſo, ſee if this will ſatisfy you: I ſay then, that Juſtice is nothing but the Obſervance of the Laws.

To obſerve the Laws, is to be Juſt.

You mean, ſaid *Hippias*, that to obſerve the Laws is to be Juſt? *Socrates* anſwered, Yes. I cannot comprehend your Thought, ſaid *Hippias*. Do you not know, purſued *Socrates*, what the Laws in a State are? The Laws, anſwered *Hippias*, are what the Citizens have ordained by a univerſal Conſent. Then, inferred *Socrates*, he who lives conformably to

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to thoſe Ordinances, obſerves the Laws; and he who acts contrary to them is a Tranſgreſſor of the Laws. You ſay true. Is it not likewiſe true, continued *Socrates*, that he who obeys theſe Ordinances, acts juſtly, and that he who obeys them not, acts unjuſtly? Yes. But, ſaid *Socrates*, he who acts juſtly, is juſt, and he who acts unjuſtly, is unjuſt? Without doubt. Therefore, ſaid *Socrates*, whoſoever obſerves the Laws is juſt, and whoſoever obſerves them not is unjuſt. *Hippias* objected: But how can it be imagined that the Laws are praiſeworthy, that it is commendable to obey them; ſince even they that made them, ſo frequently mend, alter, and repeal them? To this *Socrates* anſwered:

The Laws are ſubject to change but are not the leſs to be obſerved.

When you blame thoſe who obey the Laws becauſe they are ſubject to be abrogated, you do the ſame Thing, as if you laughed at your Enemies for keeping themſelves in a good Poſture of Defence, during the War, becauſe you might tell them, that one Day a Peace will be made: and thus you would condemn thoſe who generouſly expoſe their Lives for the Service of their Country. Do you know, added he, that *Lycurgus* could never have rendered the Republick of *Sparta* more excellent than other States, if he had not made it his chief Care to incline the Citizens moſt exactly to obſerve the Laws. This is what all good Magiſtrates aim at, becauſe a Republick, in which the Subjects are obedient to the Laws, is happy in Peace, and invincible in War. Moreover, you know that Concord is a great Happineſs in a State: It is daily recommended to the People: And it is an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom all over *Greece*, to make the Citizens ſwear to live in good Underſtanding with one another, and each of them takes an Oath

Advantages of obſerving the Laws.

to

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ſo to do. Now I do not believe, that this Unity is exacted of them, only that they may chuſe the ſame Company of Comedians, or of Muſicians, nor that they may give their Approbation to the ſame Poets, or all take Delight in the ſame Diverſions, but that they may all unanimouſly obey the Laws, becauſe Obedience is the Security and the Happineſs of the State. Concord therefore is ſo neceſſary, that without it neither Republicks nor Families can be well governed. In our private Capacity likewiſe how advantageous is it to obey the Laws? By what Means can we more certainly avoid Puniſhments, and deſerve Rewards? What more prudent Conduct can we obſerve, to ſucceed in our Suits at Law, and never be defeated. To whom ſhould we with greater Confidence truſt our Eſtates or our Children, than to Him who makes a Conſcience of obſerving the Laws? Who will diſcharge himſelf better of his Duty towards his Parents, his Relations, or his Domeſticks, towards his Friends, his Fellow-Citizens, or his Gueſts? To whom will the Enemy rather truſt for the Obſervance of a Truce, or for the Performance of a Treaty of Peace? With whom would we rather chuſe to make an Alliance? To whom will the Allies more readily entruſt the Command of their Armies, or the Government of their Towns? From whom can we rather hope for a grateful Return of a Kindneſs, than from a Man who ſtrictly obeys the Laws; and by Conſequence to whom will Men be more ready to do good Turns, than to him of whoſe Gratitude they are certain. With whom will Men be better pleaſed to contract a Friendſhip, and conſequently whom will they be leſs apt to prejudice, than him, whoſe Good-will is generally courted, and whom few Perſons will offend? Theſe, *Hippias*, are the Advantages of obſerving the Laws. Now having ſhewn you that the Obſervance of the Laws is the ſame thing with Juſtice; if you are of another

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another Opinion, pray let me know it? *Hippias* anſwered, indeed *Socrates*, what you have ſaid of Juſtice, agrees exactly with my Sentiments of it.

Divine Laws.

Have you never heard, continued *Socrates*, of certain Laws that are not written? You mean the Laws, anſwered *Hippias*, which are received all over the Earth. Do you then think, added *Socrates*, that theſe were made by Men? That is impoſſible, ſaid *Hippias*, becauſe all Men could not be aſſembled in the ſame Place, and they ſpeak not all the ſame Language. Who then do you think gave us theſe Laws? The Gods, anſwered *Hippias*; for the firſt Command to all Men is to adore the Gods. And is it not likewiſe commanded every where to honour Parents? Yes certainly, ſaid *Hippias*. *Socrates* went on: And that Fathers and Mothers ſhould not marry with their own Children, is not that too a general Command? No, anſwered *Hippias*, this laſt Law is not a Divine Law, becauſe I ſee ſome Perſons tranſgreſs it. They obſerve not the others better, ſaid *Socrates*; but take Notice, That no Man violates without Puniſhment the Laws eſtabliſhed by the Gods. There are unavoidable Puniſhments annexed to their Violation. But we eaſily ſecure ourſelves from the Rigour of human Laws, after we have tranſgreſſed them, either by keeping ourſelves hid, or defending ourſelves by open Force. And what is this Puniſhment, ſaid *Hippias*, which it is impoſſible for Parents who marry with their own Children, or Children who marry with their own Parents to avoid? It is very great, ſaid *Socrates*; for what can be more afflicting to Men who deſire to have Children, than to have very ill ones? And how do you know, purſued *Hippias*, that

The Violation of the Divine Laws never unpuniſhed.

Puniſhment of Fathers who marry with their own Children.

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that they will have ill Children: What ſhall hinder them, if they are virtuous themſelves, from having Children that are ſo likewiſe? *Socrates* anſwered: It is not enough that the Father and the Mother be virtuous: They muſt beſides be in the Vigour and Perfection of their Age: Now do you believe that the Seed of Perſons who are too young, or who are already in their declining Age, is equal to that of Perſons who are in their full Strength? It is not likely that it is, ſaid *Hippias*. And which is the beſt, purſued *Socrates*? Without doubt, ſaid *Hippias*, that of a Man in his Strength. It follows then, continued *Socrates*, that the Seed of Perſons who are not yet come to their full Strength, or who are paſt it, is not good. In all Appearance it is not. In thoſe Ages then we ought not to get Children, ſaid *Socrates*? I think ſo. Such therefore as indulge their Luſt in ſuch untimely Fruition, will have very weakly Children? I grant they will, ſaid *Hippias*. Tell me farther, ſaid *Socrates*, Is it not an univerſal Law to do Good to thoſe who have done Good to us? Yes, ſaid *Hippias*, but many offend againſt this Law. *Socrates* replied, And they are puniſhed for it, ſeeing their beſt Friends abandon them, and that they are obliged to ſeek after thoſe who have an Averſion for them. For are not they the beſt Friends who do Acts of Kindneſs to thoſe to whom they are obliged? And if he who has received a Favour neglect it, or do not return it, does he not incur their Hate by his Ingratitude? And yet, finding his Advantage in preſerving their Good-will, is it not to them that he makes his Court with moſt Affiduity? It is evident, ſaid *Hippias*, that it is the Gods who have ordered theſe Things: For when I conſider that each Law carries with it the Puniſhment of the Tranſgreſſor, I confeſs it to be the Work of a more excellent

Inevitable Puniſhment of Ingratitude.

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cellent Legiſlator than Man. And do you think, ſaid *Socrates*, that the Gods make Laws that are unjuſt? On the contrary, anſwered *Hippias*, it is very difficult for any but the Gods to make Laws that are juſt. Therefore, *Hippias*, ſaid *Socrates*, according to the Gods themſelves, to obey the Laws, is to be juſt. This is what *Socrates* ſaid; and his Actions being conformable to his Words, he from Day to Day created a greater Love of Juſtice in the Minds of thoſe who converſed with him.

I will now ſet down the Arguments he uſed to bring them to the Practice of virtuous Actions; for being of Opinion that Temperance is a great Advantage to ſuch as deſire to perform any Thing that is Excellent: He firſt ſhewed them by his Way of Living, that no Man was more advanced than himſelf in the Exerciſe of that Virtue: And in his Conferences he exhorted his Hearers above all Things to the Practice of it: And his Thoughts being continually imployed in the Means of arriving at Virtue, he made it likewiſe the Subject of all his Diſcourſes. I remember that talking once with *Euthydemus*, concerning Temperance, he delivered himſelf to this Effect. Is Liberty, in your Opinion, *Euthydemus*, a very valuable Thing both for a State and a private Perſon? To be valued above all Things, anſwered *Euthydemus*. Do you believe, that a Man who is a Slave to ſenſual Pleaſures, and finds himſelf incapable of acting virtuouſly, enjoys his Liberty? Not in the leaſt. You allow then that to act virtuouſly is to be free, and that to be prevented from doing it, by any Obſtacle whatever, is not to be free? I think ſo, ſaid *Euthydemus*. You believe then, ſaid *Socrates*, that debauched Perſons are not free? I do. Do you believe

Object of Socrates in his Conferences.

Diſcourſe of Socrates concerning Temperance.

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lieve likewiſe, continued *Socrates*, that Debauchery does not only hinder from doing Good, but compels to do Ill? I think it does. What would you ſay then of a Maſter who ſhould hinder you from applying yourſelf to what is honourable, and force you to undertake ſome infamous Occupation? *Euthydemus* anſwered, I would ſay he was a very wicked Maſter. And which is the worſt of all Slaveries, added *Socrates?* To ſerve ill Maſters, ſaid *Euthydemus*. Therefore, inferred *Socrates*, the debauched are in a miſerable Slavery? No Doubt of it. Is it not Debauchery likewiſe, ſaid *Socrates*, that deprives Men of Wiſdom, the greateſt Good, and plunges them into the oppoſite Evils? It robs them of Leiſure to apply themſelves to Things profitable, while it drowns them in ſenſual Pleaſures; and it ſeizes their Minds to that Degree, that though they often know which is the beſt Way, they are miſerably engaged in the worſt. They are ſo. Nor can we expect to find Temperance, or Modeſty in a debauched Perſon, ſince the Actions of Temperance and Debauchery are intirely oppoſite. There is no Doubt of it, ſaid *Euthydemus*. I do not think either, added *Socrates*, that it is poſſible to imagine any Thing that makes Men neglect their Duty more than Debauchery. You ſay true. Is there any Thing more pernicious to Man, ſaid *Socrates*, than that which robs him of his Judgment, inclines him to embrace Things that are hurtful, and neglect what is profitable, and lead a Life inconſiſtent with Prudence and Reaſon? There is nothing, ſaid *Euthydemus*. *Socrates* went on: And may we not aſcribe the contrary Effects to Temperance? Without Doubt. And is it not likely to be true that the Cauſe of the contrary Effects is Good? Moſt certainly. Methinks then, ſaid *Socrates*, Temperance

Debauchery is an ill Maſter.

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Debauchery repugnant to Pleasure.

is a very good Thing? Undoubtedly it is. But have you reflected, purſued *Socrates*, that Debauchery, which ſeems to lead us to Pleaſures, can never lead us to the End we aim at; and that Temperance and Sobriety alone give us the true Taſte of Pleaſures? For it is the Nature of Debauchery, not to be able to endure Hunger or Thirſt, or the Fatigue of being long awake, or the Stings of Love: Which nevertheleſs are neceſſary Diſpoſitions to eat and drink with Delight, and to find an exquiſite Pleaſure in the Embraces of Sleep, and Enjoyments of Love. This is the Reaſon that the Intemperate find leſs Satisfaction in theſe Actions, which are neceſſary, and frequently done. But Temperance, which teaches us to bear thoſe Things, makes us feel an extreme Pleaſure on theſe Occaſions. You are in the Right, ſaid *Euthydemus*. It is this Virtue too, ſaid *Socrates*, that puts Men in a Condition of bringing to Perfection both the Mind and the Body, of rendring themſelves capable of well-governing their Families, of being ſerviceable to their Friends and their Country, and ſubduing their Enemies: Which is not only very agreeable on Account of the Advantages, but very deſirable likewiſe for the Satisfaction that attends it. But the Debauched are Strangers to theſe Pleaſures: For to what Share can they pretend in virtuous Actions, whoſe Minds are wholly taken up in the Purſuit of preſent Pleaſures. *Euthydemus* replied, According to what you ſay, a Man given to Voluptuouſneſs is diſqualified for any Virtue? And what Difference is there, ſaid *Socrates*, between an irrational Animal, and a voluptuous Man, who has no Regard to what is beſt, but blindly purſues what is moſt delightful? It belongs to the Temperate only to inquire what Things are beſt, and after diſtinguiſhing them according to their real and nominal Genus,

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Genius, to embrace the Good, and avoid the Bad: Which renders them at once moſt Happy, moſt Virtuous, and moſt Prudent.

This was the Sum of this Conference with *Euthydemus*. Now *Socrates* ſaid, That Conferences were ſo called, becauſe the Cuſtom was to meet and confer together, in order to diſtinguiſh Things according to their different Species: And he adviſed ſuch frequent Conferences, becauſe it is an Exerciſe that improves and makes Men truly Great, teaches them to become excellent Politicians, and ripens the Judgment and Underſtanding.

I will ſhew in the next Place, how his Friends learnt to reaſon well by frequenting his Converſation: He held, That they who perfectly underſtand the Nature of Things, can explain themſelves very well concerning them; but that a Man, who has not that Knowledge, often deceives himſelf and others. He therefore perpetually diſcourſed with his Friends, without ever being weary. * It would be very difficult to relate how he defined every particular Thing: I will therefore mention only what I think ſufficient to ſhew what Method he obſerved in Reaſoning: And in the firſt Place, let us ſee how he argued concerning Piety. Tell me, *Euthydemus*, what is your Opinion of Piety? It is a very excellent Thing, anſwered *Euthydemus*. And who is a pious Man, ſaid *Socrates?* The Man who ſerves the Gods. Is it lawful, added *Socrates*, to ſerve the Gods in what Manner we pleaſe? By no Means, ſaid *Euthydemus*, there are Laws made for that Purpoſe,

* Xenophon has already ſaid in the 3d Book, that Socrates held Virtue to be only a Science, which Socrates is now going to prove in particular, touching upon every Virtue in the following Arguments: And the chief Method of all theſe Reaſonings is, That every one does the Things as he thinks he ought to do them. And this firſt proves, That Piety is only a Science.

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poſe, which muſt be obſerved. He then who keeps theſe Laws, will know how he ought to ſerve the Gods? I think ſo. And is it not true, continued *Socrates*, that he who knows one Way of ſerving the Gods, believes there is no better Way than his own? That is certain. And will he not be careful how he acts otherwiſe? I believe he will. He then who knows the Laws that ought to be obſerved in the Service of the Gods, will ſerve them according to the Laws? Without Doubt. But he who ſerves the Gods as the Laws direct, ſerves them as he ought? True, he does. And he who ſerves the Gods as he ought is Pious? There can be no Doubt of it. Thus then, ſaid *Socrates*, we have the true Definition of a pious Man: He who knows in what Manner he ought to ſerve the Gods. I think ſo, ſaid *Euthydemus*. Tell me farther, continued *Socrates*; is it lawful for Men to behave themſelves to one another as they pleaſe? In no wiſe, anſwered *Euthydemus:* There are alſo certain Laws which they ought to obſerve in their Conduct toward each other. And do they, ſaid *Socrates*, who live together according to thoſe Laws, live as they ought? Yes. And do they who live as they ought, live well? Certainly they do. And does he who knows how to live well with Men, underſtand well how to govern his Affairs? It is likely that he may. Now do you believe, ſaid *Socrates*, that ſome Men obey the Laws, without knowing what the Laws command? I do not believe it. And when a Man knows what he ought to do, do you think he believes that he ought not to do it? I do not think ſo. And do you know any Men who do otherwiſe than they believe they ought to do? None at all. They then who know the Laws that Men ought to obſerve

In this Place the Reaſoning ſeems a little confuſed in the Greek, but I have endeavoured to explain it by tranſpoſing only ſome Propoſitions.

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ſerve among themſelves, act as thoſe Laws command? I believe ſo. And do they who act as the Laws command, act juſtly? Moſt ſurely. And they who act juſtly, are Juſt likewiſe? None but they are ſo. We may therefore well conclude, ſaid *Socrates*, that the Juſt are they who know the Laws that Men ought to obſerve toward each other. I grant it, ſaid *Euthydemus*. *Socrates* purſued: And what ſhall we ſay of Wiſdom? Are Men wiſe in regard to the Things they know, or in regard to thoſe they do not know? There can be no Doubt, anſwered *Euthydemus*, but that it is in Conſideration of what they know; For how can a Man be wiſe in Things he knows not? Then, ſaid *Socrates*, Men are wiſe on account of their Knowledge? It cannot be otherwiſe. Is Wiſdom any thing but what renders us wiſe? No. Wiſdom therefore is only Knowledge? I think ſo. And do you believe, ſaid *Socrates*, that it is in the Power of a Man to know every thing? Not ſo much as even the hundredth Part. It is then impoſſible, ſaid *Socrates*, to find a Man who is wiſe in all Things? Indeed it is, ſaid *Euthydemus*. It follows then, ſaid *Socrates*, that every Man is wiſe in what he knows? I believe ſo. But can we by this ſame way of Compariſon judge of the Nature of Good? As how, ſaid *Euthydemus*. Do you think, ſaid *Socrates*, that the ſame Thing is profitable to all Men? By no Means. Do you believe that the ſame Thing may be profitable to one, and hurtful to another? I think it may. Then is not that Good which is profitable? Yes, certainly. Therefore what is profitable is a Good to him, to whom it is profitable? That is true. Is it not the ſame with what is beautiful? For can you ſay that a Body, or a Veſſel is beautiful and proper for all the World? By no Means.

That Wiſdom is a Science.

Of the Nature of Good.

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You will say then a Thing is beautiful, in regard to that for which it is proper? Yes. But tell me if what is reputed beautiful for one Thing, has the same Relation to another, as to that to which it is proper? No. Then whatever is of any Use is reputed beautiful in regard to the Thing to which that Use relates? I think so. And what say you of Courage, added *Socrates*, is it an excellent Thing? Very excellent, answered *Euthydemus*. But do you believe it to be of Use in Occasions of little Moment? Yes: but it is necessary in great Affairs. *Socrates* continued, Do you think it of great Advantage in Dangers, not to perceive the Peril we are in? I am not of that Opinion. At that Rate, said *Socrates*, they who are not frighted because they perceive not the Danger, are not to be esteemed valiant. There is no Doubt of it, said *Euthydemus*; for otherwise there would be some Fools, and even Cowards, who must be accounted brave. And what are they who fear what is not to be feared? They are less brave than the others, answered *Euthydemus*. They therefore, said *Socrates*, who shew themselves valiant in dangerous Occasions, are they whom you call brave; and they who behave themselves unworthily, are they whom you call Cowards? Very right. Do you think, added *Socrates*, that any Men are valiant on such Occasions, except they who know how to behave themselves in them? I do not think there are. And are not they who behave themselves unworthily, the same as they who know not how to behave themselves? I believe they are. And does not every Man behave himself as he believes he ought to do? Without Doubt. Shall we say then, that they who behave themselves ill, know how they ought to behave themselves? By no Means. They therefore who know how to behave themselves, are they who behave themselves well? They and no others.

Courage is a Science.

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others. Let us conclude then, said *Socrates*, that they who know how to behave themselves well in Dangers and on difficult Occasions, are the Brave, and that they who know not how to do so, are the Cowards. That is my Opinion, said *Euthydemus*.

Of the different sorts of Government.

Socrates was wont to say, That a kingly Government, and a tyrannical Government, were indeed two Sorts of Monarchy, and that there was this Difference between them; that under a kingly Government the Subjects obeyed willingly, and that every Thing was done according to the Laws of the State: But that under a tyrannical Government, the People obeyed by Force, and that the Laws were reduced to the sole Will of the Sovereign. Concerning the other Sorts of Government, he said: That when the Offices of a Republick are given to the best Citizens, this Sort of State was called Aristocracy, or Government of the best Men: When, on the contrary, the Magistrates were chosen according to their Revenues, it was called a Plutocracy, or Government of the Rich: And when all the People are admitted, without Distinction, to bear Imployments, it is a Democracy or popular Government.

How Socrates defended his Opinions.

If any one opposed the Opinion of *Socrates*, on any Affair whatever, without giving a convincing Reason, his Custom was to bring back the Discourse to the first Proposition, and to begin by that to search for the Truth. For Example: If *Socrates* had commended any particular Person, and any Stander-by had named another, and pretended that he was more valiant, or more experienced in civil Affairs, he would have defended his Opinion in the following Manner. You pretend, would he have said, that he of whom you speak, is a better Citizen than the Person whom I was praising.

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ing. Let us conſider what is the Duty of a good Citizen. Will you not grant me, That in relation to the Management of the publick Revenue, he is in higheſt Eſteem, who while he has that Office ſaves the Republick moſt Money? In regard to War, he who gains moſt Victories over the Enemies? If we are to enter into a Treaty with other States, he, who can gain over to the Party of the Republick, thoſe who before oppoſed its Intereſts. If we are to have Regard to what paſſes in the Aſſemblies of the People, it is he who breaks the Cabals, appeaſes the Seditious, and maintains Concord and Unity among the Citizens. This being granted him, he applied theſe general Rules to the Diſpute in Queſtion, and made the Truth plainly appear, even to the Eyes of thoſe who contradicted him. As for himſelf, when he undertook to diſcourſe of any Thing, he always began by Propoſitions moſt univerſally received, and was wont to ſay, That the Strength of the Argumentation conſiſted in ſo doing. And indeed, of all the Men I have ever ſeen, I know none who could ſo eaſily bring others to allow what he had a Mind to prove to them. And he ſaid, That *Homer*, ſpeaking of *Ulyſſes*, called him, *The certain, or never-failing Orator*, becauſe he had the Art of ſupporting his Arguments upon Principles that were acknowledged by all Men.

Frankneſs of Socrates.

I preſume that what I have ſaid, has been a ſufficient Evidence of the Frankneſs and Sincerity with which *Socrates* converſed with his Friends, and made known his Opinions to them. It remains that I ſhould ſay ſomething of the extream Care he ſhewed for their Advancement, and how much he had at Heart that they might not be ignorant of any Thing that might be uſeful to them, to the End they might not want the Aſſiſtance of others in their own Affairs: For this Reaſon, he applied

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applied himſelf to examine in what each of them was knowing; then, if he thought it in his Power to teach them any Thing that an honeſt Man ought to know, he did it with incredible Readineſs and Affection; if not, he carried them to Maſters, who were able to inſtruct them. But he perfectly knew the Degrees to which a Perſon, well educated, ought to attain. Thus for Geometry, he ſaid, That we ought to know enough of it, not to be impoſed upon in meaſuring Land when we buy or ſell, when we divide an Inheritance into Shares, or meaſure out the Work of a Labourer; and that it was ſo eaſy to know this, That if a Man applied himſelf ever ſo little to the Practice of ſuch Things, he would ſoon learn even the Extent and Circumference of the whole Earth, and how to meaſure it: But he did not approve that a Man ſhould dive into the very Bottom of this Science, and puzzle his Brains with I know not what Figures, though he himſelf was expert in it: For he ſaid he could not ſee what all thoſe Niceties and Inventions were good for, which take up the whole Life of a Man, and diſtract him from other more neceſſary Studies. In like Manner, he was of Opinion, that a Man ſhould employ ſome Time in Aſtronomy, that he might know by the Stars the Hour of the Night, the Day of the Month, and the Seaſon of the Year, on Account of Travelling or Navigation, relieving Centinels in the Night, or any Thing that is to be executed in the Dark. He ſaid that all this was eaſily learnt by converſing with Seamen, or with ſuch as go a Hunting by Night: But he diſſuaded very much from penetrating farther into this Science, as even to know, what Planets are not in the ſame Declination, to explain all their different Motions, to know their Diſtance from the Earth, the Time of their Revolutions, and

How far Socrates adviſed to ſtudy Geometry.

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their ſeveral Influences: For he thought theſe Sciences wholly uſeleſs, not that he was ignorant of them himſelf; but becauſe they take up all our Time, and divert us from better Imployments. In a Word, he could not allow of a too curious Inquiry into the wonderful Workmanſhip of the Gods in the Diſpoſition of the Univerſe: That being a Secret, which the Mind cannot comprehend; and becauſe it is not an Action acceptable to the Gods, to endeavour to diſcover what they would hide from us. He held beſides, That it was dangerous to perplex the Mind with theſe ſublime Speculations, as *Anaxagoras* had done, who pretended to be very knowing in them: For in teaching that the Sun was the ſame Thing as Fire, he did not conſider that Fire dazzles not the Eyes, but that it is impoſſible to ſupport the Splendor of the Sun. Neither did he reflect that the Sun blackens the Skin, which Fire does not: Nor laſtly, That the Heat of the Sun is neceſſary to the Earth, in order to the Production of Trees and Fruits, but that the Heat of Fire burns and kills them. When he ſaid too, that the Sun was only a Stone ſet on Fire; he did not conſider that a Stone glitters not in the Fire, and cannot laſt long in it without conſuming: Whereas the Sun laſts always, and is an inexhauſtible Source of Light.

The Secrets of God ought not to be ſearched into.

Socrates adviſed likewiſe to learn Arithmetick, but not to amuſe ourſelves with the vain Curioſities of that Science; having eſtabliſhed this Rule in all his Studies, and in all his Conferences, never to go beyond what is uſeful.

Bounds ſet by Socrates to all his Studies.

He exhorted his Friends to take Care of their Health, and to that Purpoſe to conſult with the Learned;

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Learned; and beſides, that every one ſhould make his own Obſervations what Meat, what Drink, and what Exerciſe was beſt for him, and how to uſe them to preſerve himſelf in Health. For when a Man has thus ſtudied his own Conſtitution, he cannot have a better Phyſician than himſelf. If any one pretended to go beyond the Bounds of human Prudence, he adviſed him to apply himſelf to Divination: For he who knows by what Means the Gods generally ſpeak to Men, never fails to meet with ſome Admonitions regarding himſelf, when he has Need of them.

Every Man may be his own Phyſician.

To conclude: If becauſe *Socrates* was condemned to Death, any one ſhould believe that he was a Liar in ſaying, that he had a good Dæmon that guided him, let him conſider in the firſt Place, that he was arrived to ſuch an Age, that if he had not died when he did, he could not have lived much longer; that by dying when he did, he avoided the moſt toilſome Part of Life, in which the Mind loſes much of its Vigour; and that in return for the Loſs of Life, he diſcovered to the whole World the Greatneſs of his Soul, acquired to himſelf an immortal Glory, by the Defence he made before his Judges, in behaving himſelf with a Sincerity, Courage, and Probity that were indeed wonderful; and in receiving his Sentence with a Patience and Reſolution of Mind never to be equalled: For it is agreed by all, that no Man ever ſuffered Death with greater Conſtancy, than *Socrates*. He lived thirty Days after his Condemnation, becauſe the *Delian* Feaſt happening in that Month, it is forbidden by the Law to put any Man to Death, till the conſe-

Concluſion of this Book.

Reſolution of Socrates at his Death.

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crated Veſſel that is ſent to the Iſle of *Delos*, return to *Athens*. During that Time, his Friends who viſited him continually, found no Change in him; but that he always retained that Tranquillity of Mind, and Agreeableneſs of Temper, for which he was admired by all the World. Certainly no Man can die with greater Conſtancy than this: This is doubtleſs, the moſt glorious Death that can be imagined; but if it be the moſt glorious, it is the moſt happy; and if it be the moſt happy, it is the moſt acceptable to the Gods.

See the Life of Socrates, and the end of the Chronological Table.

Hermogenes has told me, That being with him a little after *Melitus* had accuſed him, he obſerved, that he ſeemed to decline ſpeaking of that Affair: From whence he took Occaſion to tell him; That it would not be amiſs for him to think of what he ſhould anſwer in his own Juſtification: To which *Socrates* replied: Do you believe I have done any other Thing all my Life than think of it? And *Hermogenes* aſking him what he meant by ſaying ſo? *Socrates* told him, That he had made it the whole Buſineſs of his Life to examine what was juſt, and what unjuſt; that he had always cheriſhed Juſtice, and hated Injuſtice; and that he did not believe there was any better Way to juſtify himſelf: *Hermogenes* ſaid farther to him: Do you not know that Judges have often condemned the Innocent to Death, only becauſe their Anſwers offended them, and that on the contrary, they have often acquitted many who were guilty? *Socrates* anſwered: I know it very well; but I aſſure you that conſidering with myſelf what Defence I ſhould make to my Judges, the Dæmon that adviſes me, diſſuaded me from it: At which

Socrates's Innocence gave him Courage.

Hermogenes

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Hermogenes seeming surprized, *Socrates* said to him. You are surprized that this God thinks it better for me to leave this World, than to continue longer in it: For you are not ignorant, that I have lived as well, and as pleasantly as any Man: If, as I believe, to live well be to have no Concern but for Virtue, and to live pleasantly to make some Progress in it. Now, this hath always been my Belief, grounding my Opinion on the sincere Testimony of my Conscience, and strengthening myself in this Belief, by the Conversation I have had with others, and comparing myself with them. My Friends likewise have believed the same of me; not because they wish me well, for in that Sense every Friend would think as much of his Friend; but because they thought they advanced in Virtue by my Conversation. If I were to live longer, perhaps I should fall into the Inconveniencies of old Age: My Sight perhaps would grow dim, my Hearing fail me, my Judgment become weak, and I should have more Trouble in learning, more in retaining what I had learnt; perhaps too after all, I should find myself incapable of doing the Good I had done before. And if to compleat my Misery, I should have no Sense of my Wretchedness, would not Life be a Burden to me? And on the other Hand, supposing I had a Sense of it, would it not afflict me beyond Measure? As Things now stand, if I die innocent, the Shame will fall on those who are the Cause of my Death, as all Iniquity is attended with Shame. But who will ever blame me, because others have not paid a due Regard to my Innocence, or done me Justice? Past Experience evinces, that they who suffer Injustice, and they who commit it, leave not a like Reputation behind them after their Death. And thus if I die on this Occasion,

Socrates thinks it good for him to die.

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Occaſion, I am moſt certain, that Poſterity will more Honour my Memory than theirs who condemn me: For it will be ſaid of me, that I never did any Wrong, never gave any ill Advice to any Man; but that I laboured all my Life long to excite to Virtue thoſe who converſed with me. This was the Anſwer *Socrates* gave to *Hermogenes*, and to ſeveral others. In a Word, all good Men who knew him, daily regret his Loſs to this very Hour, reflecting on the Advantage, and Improvement they received in his Company. For my own Part, having found him to be the Man I have deſcribed; that is to ſay, ſo Pious as to do nothing without the Advice of the Gods; ſo juſt, as never to have in the leaſt injured any Man, and to have done very ſignal Services to many: So Temperate, as never to have preferred Pleaſure to Virtue, ſo Prudent, as never to have miſtaken in the diſcernment of Good and Evil, and as never to have had Need of the Advice of others, to form a right Judgment of either: Moreover, moſt capable to deliberate and reſolve in all Sorts of Affairs: Moſt capable to examine into Men, to reprehend them for their Vices, and to excite them to Virtue: Having, I ſay, found all theſe Perfections in *Socrates*, I have always eſteemed him the moſt virtuous and moſt happy of all Men: And if any one be not of my Opinion, let him compare him with other Men, and judge of him afterwards.

Opinion of Xenophon in favour of Socrates.

BOOK

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BOOK V.
Intitled the ŒCONOMICK.

I Have likewiſe heard *Socrates* diſcourſing to the following Purpoſe, concerning the Management of an Eſtate, and of Houſhold Affairs. Tell me, ſaid he, *Critobulus*, is Oeconomy the Name of any Art or Science, as Phyſick is, or as the Trade of a Braſier, or a Carpenter? In my Opinion it is, ſaid *Critobulus*. And as we ſay of any one of thoſe Arts, ſaid *Socrates*, that ſuch or ſuch a Thing is a Work which properly belongs to it, may we affirm likewiſe what is the particular Buſineſs of an Oeconomiſt? *Critobulus* anſwered: The proper Office of an Oeconomiſt ſeems to me to conſiſt in the well-managing of his Eſtate and Family. And cannot ſuch a Man, continued *Socrates*, manage well the Eſtate and Family of another, if they are committed to his Care, as well as his own: For he that follows the Trade of a Carpenter, can work in the ſame Manner for others, as he does for himſelf: And can a Man, who is ſkilful in Oeconomy, do ſo too? I am of Opinion that he may, anſwered *Critobulus*. According to what you ſay, continued *Socrates*, a Man who is knowing in this Art, though he have no Eſtate, no Houſe of his own, may hire himſelf out to manage the Eſtate and domeſtick Affairs of others, even as Carpenters agree with other Men to build Houſes for them at a certain Price? Moſt certainly he may, anſwered *Critobulus*, and will deſerve the larger Reward, the better and the more frugally he governs the Houſe and Family committed

That Oeconomy is the Name of a particular Art, or Science.

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committed to his Charge. *Socrates* asked him farther. What do you mean by a House and Family? Only the Place where a Man dwells; or do you include under that Denomination all his Goods and Possessions wherever they are? I think, answered *Critobulus*, that under the Word * *House*, is comprehended, not only the Dwelling-House, in which a Man and his Family inhabit, but likewise all the Estates, Goods, Possessions and Effects, in short whatever a Man hath, even though it do not lie in the same City and Country where the Owner himself lives. But have not some Men Enemies? Indeed have they, and a great many, answered *Critobulus*. And are their Enemies to be reckoned as Part of their Goods and Possessions? It would be ridiculous in any Man, said *Critobulus*, to ask a Reward of me for increasing the Number of my Enemies. But yet we agreed but now, that whatever a Man hath, is included under the Name of his House or Possessions. That is to say, said *Critobulus*, what good Thing soever a Man possesses; for I do not call any Thing he has, that is hurtful to him, Part of his Estate. You seem, said *Socrates*, to allow that only which is useful to a Man, to be his Estate? Certainly, answered *Critobulus*: For whatever is hurtful, is rather a Detriment, than an Estate. *Socrates* went on: If a Man buys a Horse, and knows not how to ride him; but is thrown by him, and hurts himself, is that Horse Part of his Estate? No: For a Man's Estate must be something that is Good, and of Use to him. At this Rate, said *Socrates*, even Land is not an Estate to a Man, who Tills it to his own Loss? Indeed, said *Critobulus*, I cannot think that even our Land can justly be esteemed Part of our Estate,

What is meant by an Estate.

* The Greek Word οἶκος is taken in all these Senses: And this obliged me in this Place to use the Word House.

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Eſtate, if, ſince it ought to be the Means of our Support, it be the Cauſe that we want Bread. And ſhall we ſay the ſame of Sheep, continued *Socrates*; and that if any Man, not knowing how to manage his Flock, loſe by it, neither his Sheep ought to be reckoned as Part of his Eſtate? *Critobulus* anſwered: They would in that Caſe ſeem to me not to be Part of it. You are then of Opinion, ſaid *Socrates*, that what brings any Profit, is an Eſtate; and that what is prejudicial is not? I am. The ſame Things therefore are an Eſtate to a Man who knows how to uſe them, continued *Socrates*, and not an Eſtate to him, who is ignorant what Uſe to put them to? And thus a Parcel of Flutes are Part of an Eſtate to a Man who knows how to play upon them: But to him who cannot, they are of no more Uſe than ſo many worthleſs Stones, unleſs he ſells them. I think ſo, anſwered *Critobulus*: For of what Profit are a Parcel of Pipes to him who keeps them by him, and knows not how to play upon them? But if ſuch a Man ſells them, they are then Part of his Eſtate: And thus we both of us agree in this; that only what is uſeful is an Eſtate; for if the Pipes are not ſold, they are not any Part of an Eſtate, being of no Uſe whatever: But when they are ſold, they become a Poſſeſſion. To which *Socrates* replied: Provided a Man knows how to ſell them: For if he ſell them to one who knows not how to uſe them, even when they are ſold, according to what you ſay, they are not an Eſtate. You ſeem to ſay, *Socrates*, that Money itſelf is not an Eſtate, unleſs a Man knows how to uſe it. And you too, ſaid *Socrates*, ſeem to confeſs with me that thoſe Things only are an Eſtate, by which a Man can reap any Profit: Now if any Man imploys his Money, for Example, to purchaſe himſelf

Money not an Eſtate to him who makes an ill uſe of it.

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a Harlot, and by that Means both his Body and Soul are prejudiced, and his Eſtate worſe managed and impaired; how can it be ſaid that Money is of any Uſe to ſuch a Man? It may with equal Reaſon be ſaid, that we ought to reckon as Part of our Eſtate the Herb Henbane, of which whoever eats, is ſure in ſome Meaſure to loſe his Senſes. Moſt certainly, *Critobulus*, the Money a Man hath, unleſs he knows how to make a right Uſe of it, ought not to be deemed among his Goods and Poſſeſſions. But what ſhall we ſay Friends are to a Man who knows how to manage them ſo, as to make them of Advantage to him? Friends, ſaid *Critobulus*, are indeed an Eſtate, a more valuable Poſſeſſion than Herds and Flocks; for a greater Advantage may be gained by them. *Socrates* replied: Then it ſeems you believe even Enemies to be an Eſtate to him, who knows to make his Profit of them? *Critobulus* anſwered, I do. It is then the Duty of a good Oeconomiſt, to know how to manage his Enemies in ſuch a Manner, as to reap ſome Profit by them? No doubt of it. And you ſee too, *Critobulus*, how many private Families are raiſed, how many Eſtates are got by War, how many by the Favour of Tyrants? All theſe Things ſeem to me to be moſt true, ſaid *Critobulus*; but what ſhall we ſay to this, that we ſee ſome Men, who are verſed in the Sciences, and have it in their Power to increaſe their Eſtates by making Profeſſion to inſtruct others, and yet refuſe to do ſo; and thus all their Knowledge is of no Uſe to them? Can it be ſaid that the Sciences are to them a Poſſeſſion or Eſtate? You ſpeak, ſaid *Socrates*, of Men who are not born free? Not in the leaſt, anſwered *Critobulus*: But there are Men, who are deſcended of very good Families, ſome of whom are ſkilled in the Affairs of War, others in the Arts of Peace, and yet will

That Friends are a very valuable Eſtate.

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will practiſe none of them; in my Opinion for this Reaſon, that they may not ſubject themſelves to Maſters, and be under the Command of others. How can they, ſaid *Socrates*, be eſteemed to be without Maſters, ſince deſiring to acquire Happineſs, and being able to do ſuch Things as would be profitable to them, they are hindered from that Attempt by thoſe who command them? And who are they, ſaid *Critobulus*, who though they cannot be ſeen, have any Command over them? On the contrary, replied *Socrates*, they are not inviſible, but manifeſtly apparent, nay, and very ill Maſters too, as you yourſelf muſt own, if you will allow Sloth, Idleneſs, and Effeminacy to be Evils: And there are certain Tyrants to whom ſome Men are in perpetual Slavery, as Gaming, idle and unprofitable Converſations, and the like: Theſe boaſt themſelves to be real Pleaſures; when even they who are deceived by their counterfeit Allurements, at length diſcover the Cheat, and find them to be real Miſchiefs. Some Men indeed there are, who ſuffer not themſelves to be ſeduced by them; but earneſtly apply themſelves to Things that are profitable and capable of increaſeing their Fortunes; yet even theſe ſometimes waſte their Eſtates, and are oppreſſed with Indigence and Want: Some of them are Slaves to Luxury, others to Luſt; ſome to Drunkenneſs, others to certain vain and expenſive Ambitions; all which exerciſe ſo cruel a Tyranny over thoſe they hold in Subjection, that while they find them to be young and able to increaſe their Store, they compel them to bring all their Gains to them, and to laviſh it away on their ſinful and reſtleſs Deſires: But when they perceive that Age comes on, and renders them incapable of getting any more, they abandon them to paſs their old Age in Miſery and unavailing Sorrow, and procure themſelves other Slaves: But if Men were wiſe, *Critobulus*, they would ſtruggle and contend

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tend againſt them to preſerve their Liberty, no leſs than againſt thoſe open Enemies, who by Force of Arms endeavour to reduce them into Slavery. For brave and generous Enemies, though all they ſubdue become their Slaves, yet make many of them better Men by correcting them, and are often the Cauſe that they live more eaſily afterwards: But thoſe other imperious Maſters never ceaſe cruelly to deſtroy and ruin the Bodies, Minds, and Eſtates, of all Men as long as they have the Command over them.

Here *Critobulus* interrupting *Socrates*, ſaid: You have ſufficiently forewarned me of ſuffering myſelf to fall into the Hands of ſuch Maſters: And indeed, when I reflect on my own Inclinations, I hope there is no Danger of my being ſeduced by them, and I believe I have ſo much the Command of myſelf as not to fall into ſuch ill Hands: Therefore if you will teach me how to augment my Eſtate, I dare promiſe you that thoſe Maſters ſhall never hinder me in the Purſuit of the Inſtructions you ſhall think fit to give me: I intreat you therefore to impart to me what you know of this Matter; or do you think that we are rich enough not to need any Addition to what we have? Indeed, ſaid *Socrates*, if you ſpeak of me as well as of yourſelf, I take myſelf to be rich enough, and to need no more than what I have: But you, *Critobulus*, ſeem to me to be extremely poor, and believe me, I ſometimes pity you very much. *Critobulus*, ſmiling, asked him this Queſtion: How much do you think you could have for all you are worth in the World, and how much I, for what I have? *Socrates* anſwered: If I were to ſell what I have, Houſe and All, I believe, if I met with a good Chapman, I might have five * Minas for

* The μνᾶ of the Greeks which the Latins called Mina, was a certain Weight and Sum of Money which contained

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for it. But I know well enough that you may have a hundred Times as much for your Eſtate. And if you know this, ſaid *Critobulus*, how can you think your ſelf rich enough, and at the ſame Time pity Me becauſe I am poor? Becauſe ſaid *Socrates*, what I have is ſufficient to ſupply me plentifully with all I have Need of: But to make the Appearance and live at the Rate you do, I ſhould not think you had enough, even though you had thrice as much as you have. Why ſo? ſaid *Critobulus*: *Socrates* anſwered: In the firſt Place, I ſee you under a Neceſſity of offering many and rich Sacrifices? otherwiſe you would be neither acceptable to the Gods, nor beloved of Men: Then you cannot avoid receiving into your Family many Foreign Gueſts, and entertaining them magnificently: And you muſt frequently give Treats to your Fellow-Citizens, otherwiſe they will not aſſiſt you in your Deſigns, nor promote your Intereſts. Beſides, I underſtand that our Government obliges you now to a great Expence, by commanding you to keep Horſes, to give publick Concerts of Muſick, to preſide in the Games and Exerciſes, to take into your Protection thoſe that are deſtitute of Friends, and if a War ſhould break out, I know you would be obliged to furniſh a certain Number of Galleys at your own Expence, and to pay ſuch Taxes beſides, that you would find it very difficult to ſubſiſt: And I know that if you behaved yourſelf in any thing otherwiſe than you ought to do, the *Athenians* would ſhew you no more Mercy, than if they had convicted you of robbing the publick Treaſure. I farther ſee that you take yourſelf to be rich, and

tained more or leſs in one Place than in another. But the Attick μνᾶ, of which Socrates here ſpeaks, weighed a hundred Drachmas of Silver: And a Drachma was worth Four-pence Sterling: So that Five Minas amounted to the Sum of Eight Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence of our Money: Which was the whole Eſtate of Socrates.

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and therefore neglect the Opportunities of encreasing your Wealth; and that you indulge yourself a Liberty in your Amours, that ought not to be taken: For these Reasons I pity you, and fear some irretrievable Misfortune will happen to you, and that you will be reduced to great Want. As for me, if I were in Need of any Thing, you cannot but be satisfied, that I should not fail to find Friends, who would abundantly supply my Necessities, since so little is needful to support me in my Way of Life: But your Friends, even though they are richer than yourself, look upon you, nevertheless, as a Man by whom they expect to be Gainers. To this *Critobulus* made the following Answer: I have nothing to object against what you say, *Socrates*, and that I may not at length be indeed miserable, I desire you to take Care of my Affairs. Which when *Socrates* heard, he said: Is it not strange, *Critobulus*, that you so soon change your Opinion, and own yourself in the Wrong; you, who but a Moment ago, laughed at me for saying I was richer than you are; as if I had been a Man who knew not wherein Riches consist; nay, and would not give over till you had compelled me to own, that I have not the Hundredth Part of your Income; is it not strange, I say, that you now desire me to take Care of your Affairs, that you may not indeed fall into Poverty? *Critobulus* answered: I see, *Socrates*, that you perfectly understand how to get an Estate, since you can make so little go so far: And have I not Reason then to believe, that if you had a considerable Revenue to manage, you would easily procure an Abundance of all Things? But have you forgot, said *Socrates*, what we agreed but just now to be true, that neither Horses, nor Land, nor Money, nor Sheep, nor any Thing else ought to be deemed as an Estate in the Hands of him who knows not how to use them? Now there is some Profit to be made of all these Things:

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Things: And how can you think that I ſhould know what Uſe to put them to, who never in all my Life enjoyed any of them? But we agreed likewiſe, ſaid *Critobulus*, that though a Man has no Eſtate of his own, yet he may be knowing in Oeconomy, and in the Management of the private Affairs of others: What hinders then, but that you likewiſe may be ſkilled in this Matter? The ſame Thing, ſaid *Socrates*, that hinders a Man from knowing how to play upon the Flute; the never having had any of his own, and no Man having ever lent him one to learn to play upon it: The ſame Reaſon will hold good why I ſhould not be ſkilled in the Management of an Eſtate, and in the Conduct of a Family. For Riches, which are the Inſtruments, I never had, to teach me that Art; nor did any Man ever truſt me with the Management of his Eſtate, though you now offer to put yours into my Care: But they who firſt learn to play upon the Harp, often put it out of Tune, and ſometimes ſpoil the Inſtrument; and I in like Manner, if I ſhould take upon me the Conduct of your Affairs, ſhould perhaps not only put them out of Order, but intirely ruin them. Then *Critobulus*: Methinks, *Socrates*, you ſeem deſirous to decline giving me your Aſſiſtance, that I may the more eaſily ſupport my neceſſary Expences. Indeed I do not, ſaid *Socrates*, but will willingly impart to you what I know of the Matter. Now I ſuppoſe, that if you came to me for Fire, and I had none; you would not blame me, if I ſhewed you to the Place where you might have ſome: In like Manner, if you aſked me for Water, and there happened to be none in my Houſe; but I led you where you might get ſome; I ſhould think you ought not to take it amiſs of me: Again; If you deſired to learn Muſick of me, and I ſhould recommend you to Maſters, who were much more ſkilful in that Art than I am, and who would take in

in good Part your Desire that they should instruct you, what could you find Fault with in this my Conduct? I should have no Reason, *Socrates*, to blame any Thing in it. Therefore, *Critobulus*, I will bring you to Men, who are far more knowing than myself, in what you so earnestly desire to learn. I have carefully applied myself to know, who in this City are the most skilful in every Thing: For having observed, That Men, who followed the same Trade and Imployment, were some of them very poor, some rich: This seemed strange to me, and I thought it worth my While to inquire into the Cause of it; and upon Inquiry, I found that it could not well be otherwise: For I observed that some of them worked negligently, and with an Ill-will, and that the Labour of these often turned to their Prejudice; while others, who wrought carefully, and with a contented Mind, dispatched their Work the sooner, the more easily, and to their greater Profit. The Example of these last may, if you yourself will, and God do not refuse his Assistance, be an Instruction to you, and help to teach you how to improve your Estate. *Critobulus* hearing this, cried out: Now, *Socrates*, I will not leave you, till in the Presence of these Friends of ours, you have instructed me in what you promised. Suppose, said *Socrates*, I should first let you see that some Men build themselves spacious, but ill-contrived Houses, which cost them a great deal of Money: While others for a much smaller Expence, build themselves less, that have all the Conveniencies they ought to have; will you not then confess that I have taught you one of the Ways that may conduce to the good Management of an Estate? Indeed I will, said *Critobulus*. What if I should teach you in the next Place something that is the Consequence of what I last mentioned? I mean, that there are some, who have

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have a great Quantity of all Sorts of Houſhold Goods, and yet are at a Loſs to find what they want, when they have Occaſion to uſe it; and do not ſo much as know whether all Things be ſafe in their Poſſeſſion or not; and for theſe Reaſons create much Uneaſineſs both to themſelves and their Families: while others, who are not near ſo well ſtocked as they, have every Thing in the Way, and ready for Uſe when they want it. What can be the Reaſon of this, *Socrates*, but that the firſt throw their Goods carelefly up and down; while the others are careful to keep every Thing in its proper Place? You are in the right, ſaid *Socrates*. Then *Critobulus* added; You ſeem to mention this as one of the Things that ought to be obſerved in order to the good Conduct of a Family? I do ſo, ſaid *Socrates*: But what will you ſay, if I ſhew you in one Family, Servants kept as it were in Chains, and nevertheleſs frequently running away: And in another, all of them left at their own Liberty, and yet willing to ſtay, and doing their Work with Chearfulneſs, do you not think this a Matter that deſerves Conſideration in the Conduct of domeſtick Affairs? Moſt certainly it does, ſaid *Critobulus*. What if I let you ſee ſeveral Perſons Tilling their Land in the ſame Manner, ſome of whom are undone by their Agriculture, and fall into Poverty; while others by the ſame Method plentifully ſupply themſelves with all they want? This may happen, anſwered *Critobulus*: For perhaps the firſt of them laviſh away what they get; and that too not only on Things that are uſeful, but on ſuch as are of no Service, and even hurtful to themſelves and their Families. I believe there are ſome who do ſo, ſaid *Socrates*, but it is not of them that I am ſpeaking; but of ſuch as make Profeſſion of Huſbandry, and yet get not enough to buy themſelves Neceſſaries. And what can be the Reaſon of this, *Socrates*? I will bring you to them,

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ſaid *Socrates*, and then yourſelf ſhall judge. If I am able, ſaid *Critobulus*, to diſcover the Cauſe of it. You muſt therefore go along with me, and ſee whether you are or no. But I remember you uſed to riſe very early in a Morning, and go a great Way to ſee a Comedy; nay, you have even prevailed with me to go, and be a Spectator with you: But you were never the Man to adviſe me to go and be a Witneſs of any of thoſe Things that I have been propoſing to you. In which I ſuppoſe, *Socrates*, you take me to have been much to blame? I believe you think ſo as well as I, ſaid *Socrates:* But what if I ſhould ſhew you ſome, who have reduced themſelves to Poverty by dealing in Horſes; and others who live in Plenty of all Things by Means of that Traffick; and moreover take great Delight in it? I too, ſaid *Critobulus*, have both ſeen and known ſome of either of theſe Sorts of Men; but have not therefore been ever the more in the Number of thoſe, who have got any Thing by Horſes. The Reaſon of which, ſaid *Socrates*, has been, becauſe you have ſeen them with no other Deſign, than you go to ſee the Actors of Tragedies and Comedies; which I do not think you do, that you may learn to be a Poet; but only to divert yourſelf, and becauſe you take Delight in ſeeing them, and in hearing what they ſay: And in this I do not blame you: For it is not your Buſineſs to become a Poet. But ſince you are under a Neceſſity of keeping Horſes, is it not a Folly in you, to take no Care to become ſkilful in them, eſpecially ſince if you were ſo, you would not only have the Advantage of uſing them in your own Service, but might make a Profit likewiſe by ſelling them? Would you have me learn to break Colts, *Socrates?* I would have you, ſaid he, buy them, when they are Colts, and train them up to Till your Land, and for your other Uſes: For in my Opinion there is a certain Age when Horſes

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Horſes as well as Men become fit for Buſineſs, and improve and grow better upon our Hands. But farther: I can ſhew you likewiſe ſome Men, who govern their Wives in ſuch a Manner, that by their Aſſiſtance they increaſe their Riches; and others ſo, that they are ruined by them. To which *Critobulus*: But in that Caſe, *Socrates*, is the Fault to be laid on the Huſband, or on the Wife? *Socrates* anſwered, If our Flocks be in an ill Condition, we generally blame the Shepherd: If any Man receive any Hurt from a vicious Horſe, we commonly accuſe the Rider who firſt broke him: If a Wife, who is well inſtructed by her Huſband, behave herſelf amiſs, ſhe deſervedly incurs the Blame: But if her Huſband have not taught her what ſhe ought to do, and ſhe fails in the Duty of a good Wife, may not the Fault be juſtly laid at his Door? Certainly it ought, *Critobulus*: But we are none here but Friends, therefore pray anſwer me truly: Is there any one to whom you would rather chuſe to truſt your chief Concernments, than to your Wife? To none, ſaid he. Is there any one, with whom you converſe leſs than with her? If leſs, ſaid he, with none at all, at leaſt with not many. Did you marry her very young, and before ſhe had had ſome Experience in the World, or had been told how to behave herſelf? Yes, I did. It is then a greater Wonder if ſhe knows what ſhe ought to ſay or do, than if ſhe fails both in her Words or Actions. But, *Socrates*; Did they, who you ſay have good Wives, inſtruct them how to behave themſelves? This deſerves to be conſidered, ſaid *Socrates*: But I cannot do better than recommend you to one who knows theſe Matters much better than I do: Yet my Opinion is, that a Wife, who is a good Companion in a Family, ought to be as careful for their mutual Advantage, as the Huſband himſelf. For generally the Man takes Care that the Houſe be ſupplied with

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Provisions and other Necessaries, and the greatest Part of them is consumed at the Discretion of the Wife; and if they are frugally managed, the Family thrives in the World; if otherwise, it falls to decay. But I believe I can shew you some excellent Workmen in every Trade, if you desire that I should do so. What need of that, *Socrates*, said *Gritobulus*? For besides, that it will be very difficult to find those that excel in every Art, I cannot see the Necessity of it, since no one Man can pretend to learn them all. If you think fit therefore, tell me only which of them you think most honourable, and will best suit with my Condition, in Case I should think fit to follow them; and afterwards you may carry me to those who profess those Occupations. *Socrates* answered: You are in the right, *Critobulus*; for the mean Trades and Imployments, that are called sordid, are looked upon as dishonourable; and deservedly not much valued in Cities and Commonwealths: Because they ruin their Constitution who make Profession of them, by obliging them to be always sitting, and to live within Doors; and some Tradesmen must be all Day long by a Fire Side. Now if their Bodies become effeminate and tender, their Minds likewise will grow weak and infirm: Besides, those illiberal Arts have so many Occupations, such constant Imployment; that such as follow them, can neither be serviceable to their Friends, nor to the Republick, but are useless to the one, nor can they defend the other. Therefore in some Cities, especially in those that are engaged in War, it is not permitted to any of the Citizens to follow these sordid Imployments: But which, *Socrates*, do you think most proper for us to follow? Let us not be ashamed, nor think it a Disgrace to follow the Example of the King of the *Persians*: For it is reported of him, that believing Agriculture and the Art of War to be very honourable and most necessary,

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neceſſary, he applies himſelf with great Diligence to both of them. *Critobulus* hearing this, ſaid: And do you believe, *Socrates*, that the King of the *Perſians* troubles himſelf with the Affairs of Agriculture? *Socrates* anſwered: If we conſider this as we ought, we ſhall perhaps be able to judge, whether he concern himſelf with that Buſineſs, or not. Now we own him to be very diligent and active in the Affairs relating to War, becauſe in all the Countries and Provinces that are tributary to him, the *Satraps* or Chief Governors are ordered to keep in Pay ſuch a certain Number of Cavalry, Archers, Slingers, and Targeteers, as are ſufficient to keep his Subjects within the Bounds of their Duty, and to defend his Dominions from the Inſults of his Enemies: Beſides theſe, he maintains Gariſons in his Fortreſſes and Caſtles, that are ſupplied with Proviſions by Officers appointed for that Purpoſe: The King himſelf once a Year viſits the Gariſons and reviews the other Troops; who all of them, except ſome that are left to defend the fortified Towns and Caſtles, aſſemble at certain Places, where their Rendezvous is appointed; and he himſelf inſpects ſuch of them as are not far diſtant from the Places of his Reſidence, and ſends ſome truſty Perſons to review the others. Such Governors of the Gariſons, as well as Tribunes and other Officers, as muſter their full Complement of Men, and whoſe Troops are well appointed with Horſes and Arms, he takes Care to reward with Gifts and Honours: But ſuch Governors of his Provinces as are found to neglect the Gariſons, and to be intent only on their own private Profit, he ſeverely puniſhes, takes their Commands from them, and appoints others in their Places. Now in obſerving this Method, does he not ſhew himſelf to be diligent and knowing in the Affairs of War?

Excellent Example of the King of Perſia.

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Moreover; he takes particular Notice in what Condition every Thing is, in thoſe Parts of his Dominions which he travels through himſelf; and takes Care to have an Account of the others, from Perſons whom he ſends on Purpoſe, and in whom he can confide: And whatever Provinces he finds to be populous, and the Land well cultivated and improved; and planted with proper Fruits and Trees, according to the Nature of each Soil, he Rewards the Governors of thoſe Provinces by enlarging the Extents of their Governments, by Preſents that he beſtows upon them, and by allowing them the moſt honourable Places in the Aſſemblies of the States: But thoſe Governors whoſe Countries he finds untilled and thin of Inhabitants, either by Reaſon of the Severity of their Government, or thro' their Remiſſneſs and Neglect, he diſcards with Ignominy, lays Fines upon them, and appoints other Governors in their Room. Now behaving himſelf in this Manner, is it not evident, that he makes it his Buſineſs to have his Dominions cultivated by the Inhabitants, and well guarded by his Troops: And he has different Governors for each of thoſe Purpoſes; ſome who preſide over the Inhabitants, whoſe Buſineſs it is to Labour and Till the Ground; and who collect the Subſidies from them: Others whoſe ſole Office is to preſide over the Troops: And if any one of theſe neglect his Duty in the Defence of the Country, the Governor of the Peaſants complains of him, that for want of being protected from the Inſults of Enemies, they could not continue their Labours: But if the Governor of the Troops take Care ſo to defend the Country, that the Peaſants may go on with their Works quiet, and undiſturbed, and the Country be nevertheleſs untilled and thinly inhabited, he too in his Turn accuſes the other Governor. For generally they who neglect the Tillage of their Land, can neither ſup-

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ply the Troops with Provisions, nor pay the Tributes to their Prince. But whenever a Governor is appointed with the Character of *Satrapa*, or Lord Lieutenant, he has the Care and Command both of the one and the other. In my Opinion, said *Critobulus*, if the King observe this Method, he is equally careful of the Agriculture of his Dominions, and of his Troops and Affairs of War. Besides, says *Socrates*, in all the Places where he resides himself, and wherever he goes in Person, he takes Care that there be those Sorts of Gardens, that they call *Paradises*, and that are stocked with all the delightful Things that the Earth can produce, either for Ornament or Use: And in this Imployment he spends much of his Time, when the Season of the Year is proper, and the Weather will permit. Certainly, said *Critobulus*, the Inhabitants of those Countries, which the King himself inspects, will strive to out-do one another in keeping their Paradises in good Order, and planted with the best of Fruits. *Socrates* continued. It is reported too, *Critobulus*, that when the King intends to give Rewards, he causes to be brought into his Presence, first those who have signalized themselves in War; because it would be to no Purpose to have the Land well tilled, if there were none to defend the Tillers, and protect the Fruits of their Labours. And the King himself often says, That even the Brave cannot subsist, unless there be Peasants to Till the Ground. And it is reported that *Cyrus*, that most glorious Prince, said once to those whom he had sent for, to receive these Rewards; that they were justly due to himself on both Accounts; because he could not only put a Country into good Order, and render it Fruitful, but keep it so, and defend it too, when he had done. Upon which *Critobulus* said, By this Expression *Cyrus* shewed, That he valued

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himself no less for his Skill in Agriculture, than for his Knowledge in the Art of War. *Socrates* added: Indeed if *Cyrus* had lived, it is likely he would have surpassed all his Predecessors: One Proof of this among many others is, That during the whole Expedition, while he was contending with his Brother for the Kingdom; not a Man forsook him to go over to the King, though many Thousands deserted from the King to him. And I take it to be a convincing Argument of the Merit and Capacity of a General, when his Troops chearfully follow him, and stand by him in the greatest Dangers. And while *Cyrus* was alive, his Friends never abandoned him; and when he was slain, they were all killed fighting round his dead Body; all, I say, except only *Ariæus*, who was posted in the Left Wing of the Army: And *Lysander* himself assured a certain Person at *Megara*, that when he was sent with Presents to this *Cyrus*, among other Tokens of Civility, which he received from him, that Prince was pleased to shew him himself the Gardens he had at *Sardis*: And that *Lysander* admiring the Beauty of the Trees and Plants, the exact Order in which they were planted, the Regularity of the Walks and Parterres, and the delightful Variety of the Whole, together with the many and fragrant Odours, that breathed their delicious Sweets upon them, as they walked along; *Lysander*, I say, surprized at all this, said to the Prince: Indeed, *Cyrus*, I am astonished at the Beauty of all I see; but much more at him, who could contrive and dispose all these Things in this beautiful Method. At which, *Cyrus*, well pleased, replied: I myself, *Lysander*, designed and measured out the whole Garden; nay, many of the Plants I planted

The worth of a General is known by the Fidelity of his Troops.

Conversation between Cyrus and Lysander.

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planted with my own Hands. Then *Lysander*, casting his Eyes on *Cyrus*, and regarding the Gorgeousness of his Robes, the Richness and Elegancy of his Collars, Bracelets, and other Ornaments, cried out: What is it you tell me, *Cyrus*? Did you with your own Hands plant any of these Things? To which *Cyrus* answered: Be not surprized at this, *Lysander*; for I protest to you by the great God * *Mithra*, that when I am in Health, I never take any Manner of Food, till I have first made myself Sweat at some warlike or rural Exercise. *Lysander*, as he himself related it, hearing these Words, took *Cyrus* by the Hand, and said: You are certainly, *Cyrus*, the most happy of all Men. And this, said *Socrates*, I tell you, *Critobulus*, to let you see, that the greatest and most happy of Men have taken Delight in the Exercise of rural Affairs.

Agriculture is an Imployment not only attended with Pleasure, but Profit too; and the Practice of it procures us a robust Constitution of Body; which capacitates us to perform great Actions: The Earth supplies those that till it with Things necessary for Life, and with those also that conduce to Pleasure: It furnishes the sweetest of Odours, and the most beautiful Decorations with which we adorn the Altars and Statues of the Gods, and our own Persons. Besides, it partly produces, partly nourishes most of our Food: For Pasturage is a part of Agriculture: And by breeding Cattle we are enabled to appease the Gods with Sacrifices, and to relieve the Necessities of Nature. And while it supplies us abundantly with good Things, it suffers us not to obtain them by Sloth and Laziness, but enures us to indure the Inclemencies of the Seasons, the Colds of Winter, and the Heats of Summer: It encreases the Strength of those, who labour

The great Advantages of Agriculture.

* This was the Name the Persians gave to the Sun.

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labour with their Hands, and renders more robust those who take Care of the Tillage of the Ground, by obliging them to rise early in the Morning, and keeping them always employed: For both in City and Country there are at all Seasons of the Year some Actions that are most proper to be done. If a Man be desirous to serve his Country on Horseback, Agriculture teaches him how to bring up his Horse; if on Foot, it makes his Body strong and hardy. The Earth too is of some Use towards Hunting, and the Sports of the Field, since it helps to feed the Dogs, and nourishes the Beasts. And because Dogs and Horses receive some Advantage from Agriculture, they too are in their Turn useful in a Country-Life: The Horse carries abroad in the Morning the Master-Husbandman, and brings him Home late at Night: The Dogs drive away the wild Beasts, that they may not spoil the Corn, nor devour the Cattle: and thus they procure Safety in the Midst of Solitude. The Earth too in some Measure excites its Tillers to defend their Land by Arms, since it produces Corn in the open Fields, that must yield to the Victor. And what Art renders Men more fit to contend in Running, in Leaping, and in throwing the Dart, than Agriculture? Which of the Arts bestows more good Things on those that follow it? Which of them rewards their Labours more delightfully, offering them at all Times whatever they can desire? Which of them enables us to treat our Friends with greater Plenty of all Things? Where can we more easily have good Fires and warm Baths in the Winter, than in the Country? Where can any Man pass the Summer more pleasantly, in the Midst of refreshing Springs, gentle Breezes and cool Shades, than there? What other Art than Agriculture furnishes us with First-Fruits and Offerings, more acceptable to the Gods, or supplies our Festivals with greater Abundance? What other Art is more grate-

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ful to Servants, more delightful to a Wife, more pleaſant to Children, more civil and hearty to Friends? It ſeems ſtrange to me, that a Man of true Honour and Integrity can eſteem any Enjoyment more acceptable, any Imployment more delightful, or more uſeful to Life. Moreover, the Earth, which is indeed a Goddeſs, gives Inſtruction of Juſtice to thoſe who thoroughly conſider her: For ſhe ſeems ſtudious to make large Returns to ſuch as cultivate her as they ought. And if at any Time they who have been uſed to the Buſineſs of Huſbandry, and are by Toil and Labour come to be active and ſtrong in Body, ſhould be driven from their Work by the Forces of an Enemy; they will be able, with the Bleſſing of God, and by their own Strength and Courage, to revenge their Quarrel, and by invading the Borders of thoſe who interrupted them in their Buſineſs, to take from thence wherewith to nouriſh and ſupport themſelves and their Families: And in War too it is often more expedient to get Proviſions by Force of Arms, than by Agriculture; which teaches us likewiſe mutually to aſſiſt one another: For we march againſt our Enemies with Troops of Men; and the Earth muſt be tilled by the Labour of Men: He therefore who is deſirous to carry on his Agriculture with Succeſs, muſt take Care that his Labourers be obedient and active: And he, who commands Forces againſt an Enemy, muſt endeavour the ſame Thing; and reward thoſe who behave themſelves as becomes Men of Honour; and puniſh thoſe who are refractory, or neglect their Duty. 'Tis likewiſe no leſs neceſſary that a Huſbandman ſhould ſometimes encourage his Labourers by fair Words and Promiſes, than it is for a General by the ſame Means to rouze up the Courage of his Troops: Nor have Servants leſs Need of being buoyed up by Hopes of Profit and Advantage, than Men who are free: Nay, they

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have more, that they may be encouraged to continue in their Service. Farther; he was much in the Right, who asserted Agriculture to be the Mother and Nurse of the other Arts: For when that is prosperously carried on, all the other Arts flourish likewise: But when through any Necessity the Land lies uncultivated; all the other Arts are at a Stand also both by Sea and Land.

Critobulus hearing this, said: All you tell me, *Socrates*, is very true: But many Things happen in Husbandry, which no Man can either foresee or prevent: For Hail, Frost, Heat, excessive Rains, Blights, and other Accidents often destroy the careful Peasant's Labours: Murrains and Rots sometimes seize and carry off his Flocks and Herds of Cattle, though they be ever so carefully tended. To which *Socrates* replied: I thought you knew, *Critobulus*, that the Gods are the supreme Disposers of rural, as well as warlike Affairs: And I suppose you are not ignorant, that Men who follow the Trade of War, endeavour to appease the Gods before they enter upon Action; nor that they inquire by Sacrifices and Auguries what they ought, or ought not to do: And do you think, that in the Affairs of Agriculture, you ought to be less careful to render the Gods propitious, and to implore their Blessings on your Labours: You ought to be thoroughly persuaded, that Men, who are truly Wise, worship the Gods for the Sake of their green and their dry Fruits, of their Oxen, their Horses, their Sheep; in a Word, of all their Possessions. You give me good Advice, *Socrates*, said *Critobulus*, not to undertake any thing without first imploring the Assistance of the Gods; since all the Actions and Events of War and of Peace are wholly in their Power; and I will endeavour to follow your Instructions. But now, if you please, resume the Discourse

That God is the sole Disposer of all Things.

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Discourse you left off, and go on with what you were saying concerning the Management of an Estate, and the ordering of domestick Affairs: For I imagine that by your Counsel and Instructions, I shall be able so to manage my Estate, as to live more at my Ease. Would you have me, said *Socrates*, return to those things that we have already mentioned and agreed upon? And then pursue our Subject, to see upon what we can farther agree? I should be glad you would do so, answered *Critobulus*.

We agreed in the first Place, said *Socrates*, that Oeconomy is the Name of a Science; and we defined it to be that Science, which teaches Men to increase their Houses; and by Houses we agreed is meant whatever a Man possesses and enjoys; that is to say, his whole Estate: And we allowed that whatever a Man has that is useful to Life, comes under the Denomination of his Estate: But that all Things are useful, that a Man knows how to make use of. We farther agreed that all the Arts and Sciences cannot be learnt by any one Man; and that the Profession of such of them as are called sordid, is blamed and disallowed in some Cities; because they are prejudicial to the Body, and enervate the Mind: The Truth of which will evidently appear, if when an Enemy has invaded the Country, the Peasants and the Artisans were separately asked their Opinions, whether it would be best to defend the open Country, or to retire into the Towns that are fortified; for they who are imployed in Agriculture, will probably give their Opinions for defending their Lands; while the Artisans will not be for fighting the Enemy; but for sitting still, according to their Way of Life, and not be willing to undertake any Fatigue, or run the least Danger. We agreed likewise that Agriculture, by Means of which Men are supplied with all the Necessaries of Life, is the most commendable Science and Occupation, that a good and

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and honeſt Man can follow, and the moſt becoming of a Man of Honour: And we were of Opinion that it may be learnt very eaſily, and practiſed with the greateſt Delight, that it procures a hale and ſtrong Conſtitution of Body, and hinders not our Thoughts from imploying themſelves in the Intereſt of our Friends, and in the Service of our Country. Laſtly, That by Agriculture the Mind is excited to Courage; becauſe out of the fortified Places it produces Things neceſſary for Life, and with them feeds thoſe who imploy themſelves in Tillage and other rural Affairs: And therefore this Sort of Life ought to be held in great Eſteem by Republicks, ſince it furniſhes them with the beſt Subjects, and ſuch as are moſt ſtudious of the Publick Good. Then *Critobulus:* I am fully perſuaded, *Socrates*, that the beſt and moſt delightful Imployment a Man can betake himſelf to, is to provide Things neceſſary for Life by the Means of Agriculture: But you were ſaying, that you knew how it comes to paſs, that ſome who follow that Occupation, abundantly ſupply themſelves by it with all they have need of; while others manage it ſo ill, that it is of no Service to them: I ſhould be glad to hear from you the Reaſons of this Difference, that I may be inſtructed how to do what is beſt to be done, and to avoid what may be prejudicial to me.

Socrates replied: To this Purpoſe, *Critobulus*, it will not be amiſs to relate to you at large a Conference I once had with a certain Perſon, whom I looked upon to be indeed one of thoſe, to whom we deſervedly give the Character of honeſt and good Men. I ſhall be extreamly glad to hear it, ſaid *Critobulus*, there being nothing I more earneſtly deſire, than to be worthy of that Character myſelf. I will therefore tell you, ſaid *Socrates*, how I came firſt to get Acquaintance with that Perſon. It has been my conſtant Practice to beſtow ſome ſmall Part

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Part of my Time in going to see the Works of the good Carpenters, Smiths, Painters, Statuaries, and other Tradesmen, who are esteemed to excel others in their several Arts: But in order to know what they, who are called honest and good Men, do to obtain that honourable Appellation, I had an earnest Desire to become acquainted with one of them. And in the first Place, because the Name of Honest was added to that of Good, I made it my Business to see, whether I could any where find the Good and the Honest joined together.

But I found it was often quite otherwise; for I discovered some to have very honest Looks, but vicious Inclinations. I therefore thought fit to have no Regard to the Honesty of the Countenance, but to find out one of those who were called Good and Honest: Accordingly hearing *Ischomachus* every where called a good and honest Man, by all as well Men as Women, and Foreigners as of our own Country, I resolved to get into his Company: And happening one Day to see him sitting in the Portico of *Jupiter the Liberal*, I imagined with myself that he had nothing to do, and therefore went and sate myself down by him.

The Word in the Original is καλὸς, which as well as Honestus in the Latin, signifies both Beautiful and Honest.

I addressed myself to him in these Words. What makes you, *Ischomachus*, sitting here in this Manner, you who are never wont to be idle: For I generally see you actually imployed in some Action, or solliciting your Affairs in the Courts of Justice. *Ischomachus* answered me thus: You had not now, *Socrates*, found me sitting idle here, but that I wait for some Persons, who promised to meet me. But when you are doing nothing of this Nature, said I, for God's Sak

Conversation of Socrates with Ischomachus.

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Sake what is it you do, how do you ſpend your Time? For I long to know of you what Courſe you take to be called in all Places a good and honeſt Man: You are not always at Home, nor indeed do you look like a Man, who idled away his Time in that Manner. Upon this, *Iſchomachus* repeated theſe Words: *What Courſe do you take to be called in all Places a good and honeſt Man*, and ſeemed, as I thought, to be pleaſed that I had told him ſo. Indeed, ſaid he, I know not whether any call me by that Name, when they ſpeak to you of me: But this I am ſure of, That when I am called upon to pay my Contingent towards defraying the Expence of the publick Spectacles, I am never aſked for by the Name of the Good and Honeſt Man, but plain *Iſchomachus*, which was my Father's Name as well as mine. But as you obſerved of me, *Socrates*, I do not ſpend much of my Time at Home, having a Wife who is capable enough to manage the domeſtick Affairs of my Family.

*THIS is one of the Things, ſaid I, which I would willingly know of you: Whether ſhe became ſo good a Houſewife by the Inſtructions you gave her; or whether when you took her from her Father and Mother, ſhe was already capable of managing thoſe Affairs, which are the proper Office of a Wife? How could ſhe know any Thing of it, ſaid he, *Socrates*, ſince when I married her, and took her from her Parents, ſhe was a raw Girl, ſcarce fifteen Years of Age, and had always been ſtrictly kept up, inſomuch, that ſhe had not been much inſtructed, had ſeen but little, nor got any Experience in domeſtick Affairs? She knew indeed how to Spin,

* Here, ſays Servius, properly begins the firſt Book of the Oeconomicks of Cicero, taken from Xenophon, and containing Inſtructions to the Miſtreſs of a Family, how to manage the Affairs within Doors.

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Spin, and make Cloth; and to keep her Maids to Work at the Diſtaff: Beſides, as to what relates to Eating and Drinking, ſhe had been well educated, for ſhe was content with any Thing, and not over-deſirous of dainty Morſels; which in my Opinion is very commendable either in a Man or Woman. And did ſhe, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*, by your Inſtructions become capable of performing the other Duties of a good Wife? Not before I had ſacrificed to the Gods, anſwered *Iſchomachus*, and beſought them that I might teach her, and ſhe might learn of me whatever would be beſt for both of us: And did your Wife, ſaid I, aſſiſt at theſe Sacrifices, and join with you in the ſame Supplications? Always, anſwered *Iſchomachus*, and often vowed in the Preſence of the Gods, that ſhe would behave herſelf in all Things as ſhe ought to do: And I plainly foreſaw that ſhe would not be neglectful in whatever ſhe ſhould be taught. I beg of you, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*, to tell me what you taught her firſt: In which you will oblige me more, than in any Thing elſe that you can tell me. *Iſchomachus* anſwered me thus: When ſhe had been with me a ſhort Time, and we began to know one another, I aſked her this Queſtion: Tell me, ſaid I, my dear Wife; have you conſidered why I married you, and why your Parents gave you to me? For I know that even you yourſelf are ſatisfied that it was not to enjoy only the Pleaſures of the nuptial Bed. But when I had conſidered with myſelf, what Wife it would be beſt for me to take, and your Parents had conſulted on whom to beſtow you, I made choice of you, and they pitched upon me as the fitteſt Match for you, among the many others who made their Addreſſes to marry you. If it ſhall pleaſe God to give us Children, we will then conſult how it will be beſt to educate them: For it will be an Advantage to each of us to breed them up in ſuch a Manner, that

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that they may be good Company and a Comfort to us in our old Age: Now this Houſe, and whatever we have, is yours as well as mine: All that I had is in common to you, and you keep from me nothing to yourſelf of any Thing that you brought. Nor are we to have any Regard which of us had moſt: But are now to believe, that whichſoever of us behaves beſt in this conjugal Society, brings the moſt valuable Riches into our common Stock. To this, *Socrates*, my Wife anſwered: In what can I be any Ways an Aſſiſtance to you? Over what have I any Power? Every Thing is at your Diſpoſal: My Mother told me, That my Buſineſs was to be frugal. Indeed, ſaid I, Wife, my Father cautioned me to be ſo too. And it is the Duty both of a frugal Huſband and a frugal Wife, each of them ſo to behave themſelves, as to make the beſt Uſe of what they have, and to endeavour at the ſame Time by honeſt and juſt Means to increaſe their Store: And what, ſaid my Wife, can I do, that will help to augment what we have? Strive, ſaid I to her, to do in the beſt Manner you can, what the Gods have naturally enabled you to perform, and what the Laws approve of. And what is that? ſaid ſhe. I anſwered her thus: In my Opinion, what you may do, is of no ſmall Moment; unleſs you think too that the Miſtreſs and Governeſs of the Bees is commanded to preſide in the Hive, and take Care of Affairs of little Importance: For it ſeems to me as if the Gods had united together this Pair, which we call the Male and the Female, chiefly for this Purpoſe, that they might mutually aſſiſt each other. In the firſt Place, leſt the ſeveral Kinds of Animals ſhould fail, this Union of Couples of different Sexes begets Young, and thus propagates the Race: In which

All Things ought to be in common between Huſband and Wife.

Man

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Man has this peculiar Advantage over the other Animals, that the Children he begets, are a Comfort to him, and ſupport him in his old Age. Beſides, Men live not in the open Air, like the Cattle of the Field, but have need of Houſes to ſhelter them: And they who take Care to provide the Things that are brought into the Houſe, muſt of Neceſſity have ſome to undertake the Works that are to be done Abroad: Such as Ploughing, Sowing, Planting, Paſturing of Cattle, and the like, all which are done in the open Air, and are the Means by which Neceſſaries are provided for the Family: And when Proviſions are brought into the Houſe, they require the Care of that Perſon who is to look after them, and to ſee that thoſe Things be done, that cannot be done but within Doors: Of this Nature are the Nurſing of young Children, and making Bread of the Corn that is brought in; as alſo Spinning the Wool for Cloaths, and the like; all which are Works that cannot be done but within Doors: Now becauſe both of theſe, as well the Works to be done without Doors as within, require Care and Labour, God has beſtowed on the Woman a Nature capable to Work and take Care of the Affairs within Doors; and has given the Man a Capacity and Strength to perform and take Care of thoſe without: For he has indued him with ſuch a Conſtitution of Mind and of Body, as enables him the better of the two, to ſupport Labours, Heat, Cold, Journeys, and military Fatigues; and therefore injoins him to do the Works that are to be done without Doors: But having beſtowed on the Woman a Body naturally leſs ſtrong, and unable to indure thoſe Labours, it ſeems to me as if God thereby tacitly commanded, that only the Works

Nature ſeems to have deſigned the Women to take care of the Affairs within Doors, and Men of thoſe without.

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Works to be done within Doors ſhould be her Care and Lot. And becauſe he knew that he had by Nature commanded, and enabled the Woman to feed and bring up her new-born Babes, he inſpired the Mothers with a greater Tenderneſs for their Children, than he has the Fathers: Becauſe he deſigned the Woman to take Care to keep the Things within Doors, and knew that a fearful Mind would keep Things the ſafer, he imparted a greater Share of Fear to the Woman than to the Man: Becauſe he knew, that if the Workmen without Doors were diſturbed, and aſſaulted, they muſt defend themſelves, he gave to Men the more Courage: Becauſe it is of Neceſſity that both the Man and the Woman ſhould lay out and receive, he gave to either of them an equal Share of Memory and Careſulneſs; inſomuch, that it cannot eaſily be diſcerned whether Sex has the Advantage and excels in either. He gave alſo to both of them alike Abſtinence from Things, which they ought to avoid; and according as either of them ſhould prove better and more virtuous than the other, he gave to either the Man or the Woman a Power to obtain the greater Share of this Good. But becauſe the Nature of both of them was not deſigned, nor framed alike for all theſe Things, therefore the one has the greater Need of the other; and this Couple become the more uſeful to one another, ſince what the one is deſtitute of, is in the Power of the other. Since therefore, my Wife, ſaid I to her, we know what the Things are, that God has commanded each of us to do, we ought to ſtrive to the utmoſt of our Power, to perform whatever our reſpective Duties ſeverally require of us. Even human Laws, by joining together the Male and the Female, confirm and approve what I have been ſaying; and as God is the Author

Mothers are more tender of their Young than Fathers.

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thor of the Society and Partnerſhip between them in regard to their Children; ſo the Laws ordain likewiſe a Community of their Eſtates. Moreover, the Laws demonſtrate thoſe Things to be juſt and honourable, which God has by Nature beſt diſpoſed and enabled either of them to do: For it better becomes the Woman to keep herſelf within Doors, than to imploy herſelf Abroad; and it is more unbecoming of the Man to tarry at Home, than to take Care of the Affairs without Doors, and in the open Air. And if any Man buſies himſelf in other Things than thoſe which Nature has deſigned and fitted him to do, it cannot perhaps be concealed from God, that he acts contrary to the Order he eſtabliſhed; and therefore ſuch a Man will be puniſhed, whether he neglect the Works that belong to him to perform, or whether he imploy himſelf in thoſe that are the proper Duty of the Female Sex. And that Bee, I mentioned before, who is the Miſtreſs that directs and governs the others, ſeems to me conſtantly to imploy herſelf, as ſhe is divinely commanded to do. And what, ſaid my Wife, are the Works, in which that Governeſs of the Bees imploys herſelf, and that have any Reſemblance to thoſe that belong to me to perform? In the firſt Place, ſaid I, ſhe remains in the Hive, and ſuffers not any of her Family to be idle: But ſends out thoſe who are to work abroad, and whatever each brings Home, ſhe takes an Account of it, and keeps it ſafe, till the Time comes to uſe it; and then ſhe diſtributes it in equal Shares to every Bee. She inſpects the Combs that are laboured within the Hive, and ſees they be made as they ought: She takes Care to bring up the young Bees; and when they are inſtructed and able to work, ſhe, as it were, ſettles a Colony of them, and appoints them a Governeſs of her

That Bees have a Governeſs who rules and preſides over them.

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her own Race. And will it, ſaid my Wife, be requiſite for me to take Example by her? I anſwered: It will be requiſite for you to ſtay at Home, and ſend out the Servants, who are to work abroad: To have an Eye over thoſe, whoſe Buſineſs lies within Doors; and to receive what is brought into the Houſe: To diſtribute as much of it as is neceſſary for the Family; to keep ſafely what is to be kept; and to take great Care that no Waſte be made; leſt the Proviſions that are laid in for the whole Year, be conſumed in a Month. When any Wool is brought Home to the Houſe, you are to take Care that Cloth be made of it for ſuch of the Family as want to be new cloathed. It is your Buſineſs to ſee that the Corn be kept dry, and fit for Uſe. But there is one Part of your Duty, which perhaps will ſeem unwelcome to you; and that is, to take a particular Care of the Domeſticks that happen to fall Sick, and to uſe all poſſible Means for their Recovery. On the contrary, ſaid ſhe, this will be the moſt grateful Taſk of all; for if through my Means they happen to recover, they cannot chuſe but bear in Mind the good Offices I have done them, and behave themſelves with greater Reſpect to me afterwards, than they had done before. *Iſchomachus* told me he was ſurpriſed at this Anſwer, and ſaid to her. Thus too becauſe that Governeſs of the Bees, that continues always in the Hive, takes Care of all their Advantages, ſo great is the Affection of the whole Swarm to their Benefactreſs, that if ſhe forſake the Hive, none of them will ever leave her, but follow her one and all, wherever ſhe goes. To this my Wife anſwered: It ſeems ſtrange to me, that the Duty of governing the Family does not rather belong to you than to me: For it would look ridiculous to appoint me to keep and diſtribute Things within Doors, if you did not take Care to have

Proper Duties of the Miſtreſs of a Family.

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have them brought in from abroad. And my ſending them in, ſaid I, would be no leſs ridiculous, if there were not ſomebody to take Care of them when they are brought in. Have you never conſidered the wretched Condition of thoſe, who are ſaid to pour Liquor into a leaky Veſſel, inaſmuch as they are thought to labour in vain? My Wife anſwered: They are indeed miſerable who do ſo, for they are ſtill to begin their Labour. I continued thus; There are other Things, my Wife, that properly belong to you to take Care of, and that will not be unpleaſant to you; as to teach ſuch of your Family as know not how to work, to card and ſpin the Wool, to lay up, to diſtribute and ſerve Things according to your Directions, and the like; for ſuch Servants will be of much more Service to you when they are thus inſtructed, than they were before: To reward thoſe who behave themſelves modeſtly, and are uſeful in the Family, and to puniſh thoſe who do amiſs: And what will pleaſe you beſt of all will be this, That you will ſee me become a better Huſband, and be as it were a Servant to you myſelf; Nor will you have any Reaſon to fear that the Older you grow, the leſs Reſpect you will find in the Family: But may depend upon it, that the more you advance in Years, the more you will be reſpected, according as you prove a better Wife to me, a better Mother to your Children, and a more careful and prudent Manager of your Family. For in this Life our true Worth depends not on our outward Form and Beauty, but on our inward Virtues and Perfections. This, as I remember, *Socrates*, was the firſt Dialogue I had with her, concerning theſe Affairs.

I then aſked him, if he found her the more diligent for theſe Inſtructions? Indeed, ſaid *Iſchomachus*, I did; and even remember how much vexed and aſhamed ſhe was, if at any Time ſhe could not readily

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dily give me any thing that had been brought in by my Orders, and that I happened to aſk for: And when I obſerved the Concern ſhe was in: Let not this trouble thee, ſaid I, my Dear, that thou can'ſt not find what I aſk for: It is indeed a Fault not to have in readineſs the Things we want; but a much greater not to know where to find them, becauſe we do not remember we ever had them: Beſides, thou art not ſo much to blame in this Matter as myſelf, who have not particularly directed you where each Thing ſhould be laid, that you might know where to look for it when it is wanted. Now in all human Affairs, there is nothing more uſeful, nothing more beautiful than Order. But when every one does what he thinks beſt, all Things are in a Confuſion and unpleaſant to behold: As on the contrary, when each hath his appointed Taſk, his particular Buſineſs to take Care of, the Whole is carried on with Eaſe and Pleaſure; and every thing is in the Way when it is wanted: Thus Order is both beautiful and uſeful. Even ſo an Army, before it is formed into Troops, and drawn up into Order, is but a confuſed Multitude of Men, who repreſent to themſelves a diſagreeable Object, and are eaſily overcome by their Enemies; not being in a proper Poſture of Defence, while the Equipage and Baggage-Horſes, the Infantry, the Cavalry, the Carriages, the Suttlers, are confuſedly mixed with one another: Nor will they be able to march in ſo great Diſorder, but will mutually hinder one another, and if in that Condition they were to engage an Enemy, what could they expect but to be intirely defeated: But an Army of well-diſciplined Troops, drawn up in good Order, are a beautiful Proſpect to themſelves, and a Terror to their Enemies. What ſhould we ſay of a Husbandman, who laid his Wheat, Barley, Peaſe, Oats, Tares, all in one

Order is uſeful in all Things.

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one Heap together? When he has Occasion to use any of them, he must pick and sever them asunder; whereas if he had laid them apart at First, he had found them ready for his Use when he wanted them. Let us therefore, my Wife, to the End you may not be put to this Difficulty, but manage our Family with more Ease to yourself, and greater Satisfaction to me, when you are no longer at a Loss where to find what I ask for; let us, I say, appoint a particular Place for each Thing, that we may know where to send our Servants for what we want, and order them to put it in the same Place again; By this Means we shall know what we have and what we lose; for the Place itself will shew us what is missing, and the Sight of it will discover what we want: This Care will be a Means to have at all Times every thing ready for our Use.

And indeed, *Socrates*, I think I never saw so exact an Order observed any where, and that too in every Thing; as a-board that large *Punick* Vessel, which I went on Purpose to see: I took Notice that many Tools were placed in a little Corner by themselves: For they make use of many wooden Instruments to draw the Ship into Port, and to hawl her out again: She is armed with several Machines to keep off the Enemies Ships from boarding her; and she likewise carries many Arms for her Crew, and all Manner of Utensils that are necessary in a Family for the dressing of Meat, and the like Occasions: And besides all this she is freighted with a Cargo of several Things which the Master takes a-board for his own Profit: And all these Things I have mentioned were stowed in as little Room, as is contained in a Parlour in which Ten of us might lie down to eat at our Ease. I observed, That all Things were laid in such a Manner, as not to be a Hindrance, and in the Way of

Description of the exact Order observed in a Ship.

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of one another; nor needed any looking for; but were easy to come at, when there was a sudden Occasion to use them. I took Notice besides, that the Mate was so well acquainted with this Place of Stowage, that even when he was not there, he could tell where every Thing was to be found, and how many Things there was of each Sort, as well as I know how many Letters there are in the Name of *Socrates*, and in what Order they are placed: I saw likewise, that when he had nothing else to do, he used to take a View of all the Equipage that belonged to the Vessel: And being surprised at his Care, I once asked him what he was doing? I am seeing, said he, in Case any Accident should arrive, in what Condition every Thing is; and whether any Thing be wanting, or out of its due Place. For when a sudden Storm arises at Sea, we have no Time to lose in searching for what we want, nor to take what may be placed so as to be difficult to come at. For God is wont to punish the Foolish and Improvident with Dangers and Terrors; and if he only not destroy those who do nothing amiss, he treats them with Clemency: And many Thanks are due to the Gods if they preserve even those, who have every Thing in Readiness, and take the greatest Care of their own Preservation.

Having observed all Things placed in such excellent Order, I told my Wife, That since even in Ships, which are of so small Extent, they could find a proper Place for every Thing; since even when they were tost in Tempests, they observed an Order and Discipline, since when they were in the greatest Consternation, they readily knew where to find whatever they wanted; it would be an inexcusable Folly in us, who had a large House, where there are a great many Rooms and separate Conveniences for all we have, not to allot a certain Place for each Thing, where it might easily be found.

Hitherto

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Hitherto has been ſaid how uſeful it is to have certain Places for the Utenſils and Veſſels belonging to the Family, and how eaſy it is to find a particular Place in the Houſe, where to lay each of them: There is likewiſe a Neatneſs in having the Shoes, for Example, by themſelves; 'tis pleaſing and convenient too to ſee the wearing Apparel in one Place; the Braſs Veſſels in another; the Plates and Diſhes that are uſed at Table in a Third: Nay, even the inconſiderable Pipkins and Earthen-ware ought no leſs to have a proper Place aſſigned them, than the more valuable Houſhold-Stuff; and though they are but of ſmall Worth; yet being uſeful in a Family, they require the Care of the Miſtreſs of it. Whether I am in the Right in theſe Matters, we may, ſaid I, my Wife, with little Labour and no Damage bring to the Teſt. Nor ought we to trouble our Heads, that it will be difficult to find any one, who will learn to know the Places, and remember to put each Thing in its proper Place: For we know that in this City there is ten thouſand times more than we have; and yet if you bid any of the Servants go buy ſuch or ſuch a Thing, none of them will make a Stand, but go directly to the Place, where it is to be had: And of this there is no other Reaſon, but becauſe there are certain Places where each Thing is to be ſold: And if you were looking for a Man, and he too were in Search of you, you would ſometimes both of you leave off, and deſpair of finding one another: And of this too there is no other Reaſon, but becauſe there is no certain Place where either of you is to be found. And this, as I beſt remember, was the Diſcourſe I held to her, concerning the Order and Uſe of the ſeveral Veſſels and Utenſils that are in the Houſe within Doors, and properly belong to the Care of the Miſtreſs.

I then went on thus: But tell me, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*, did your Wife ſeem to give Attention to

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the Inſtruction you gave her? She promiſed me, ſaid he, That ſhe would imploy her utmoſt Diligence, and ſeemed to be as well pleaſed, as if from Penury and Want ſhe had diſcovered the Means to flow in Plenty of all Things: She deſired me forthwith to place every Thing in the Order I had been deſcribing to her. And how, ſaid I, did you behave yourſelf in this Matter? He anſwered: I thought it beſt at firſt to ſhew her the ſeveral Conveniencies of the Houſe; which is not, *Socrates*, adorned with various Paintings, but all the Rooms are built in ſuch a Manner, as makes them very convenient to receive the Things that are moſt proper to be placed in them; inſomuch that they ſeemed as it were to aſk for their ſeveral Furnitures. For the inner Rooms being more private, and not ſo eaſy to come to as the other, required our beſt Houſhold-Stuff, and Goods of greateſt Value: The drieſt Rooms ſeemed beſt for Granaries to keep the Corn; the cool, for the Wine; the moſt lightſome were ſet apart for the Works that required moſt Light. I ſhewed her beſides the Apartments deſigned for the Men, which were ſo contrived as to be cool in Summer and warm in Winter: And I made her take Notice, that the whole Houſe is much expoſed, and lies very open to the South, by which Means it comes to have a great deal of Sun in the Winter, and Shade in the Heat of Summer: I ſhewed her that the Womens Apartment was ſeparate from that of the Men; and had ſtrong Doors as well to prevent any Thing from being carried out, that ought not to be ſo, as to hinder the Servants from lying together, and getting Children without our Conſent: For though good Servants indeed when they have Children, often become better; yet the Bad, when they marry, generally grow more perverſe, and inclined to Miſchief. When we had gone thus far, we then began to put our ſeveral Sorts

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Sorts of Goods by themſelves: Firſt thoſe that we uſe in the Sacrifices and Worſhip of the Gods: Then the Womens Apparel for Holy-Days; and the Mens for the ſame Solemnities; and apart from them we laid the Cloaths they were to wear in Time of War: After this we placed what belonged to the Women, in the Womens Apartment; what to the Men in theirs. Then we laid the Arms, the Utenſils for Carding and Spinning, for grinding of Corn, for dreſſing of Meat, for Waſhing, for Baking, the Plates, Diſhes, &c. for eating, all in ſeveral Parcels by themſelves; as well thoſe that were to be always in Uſe, as thoſe that were to be uſed only in Feſtivals, and other particular Occaſions. Then from the Proviſions that were laid in for the whole Year, we took as much as we thought would ſuffice for a Month; by which Means we were the better able to judge of the Conſumption was made. After we had thus ſeparated the Houſhold-Stuff, we carried each Parcel to its proper Place. Then all the Veſſels that were to be in daily Uſe; for Example, Thoſe for the dreſſing of Meat, for Spinning, and the like, we delivered to thoſe Servants, who were to uſe them; ſhewed them the Places where to lay them, and gave them a Charge not to break or loſe any of them: But thoſe that were to be uſed only on Holy-Days, or when any Friends came to viſit us, or on any other extraordinary Occaſion, we delivered them into the Cuſtody of the Houſekeeper, ſhewing her where to lay them, and taking firſt an Account, and marking each of them: We gave her Orders to deliver them to none but to whom they were to be delivered; to remember to whom ſhe gave them; and when they were brought again to her, to lay them by in their reſpective Places. Now the Office of Houſekeeper we beſtowed on her, whom after ſome Experience

Of the Houſekeeper.

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we found to be moſt temperate in eating, drinking and ſleeping, and leaſt fond of the Company of Men: Beſides, whom we judged to have the beſt Memory, to take the greateſt Care to do nothing that might give us the leaſt Offence, and to endeavour in all Things to do the beſt ſhe could, to deſerve our Good-will. To encourage her to be the more careful, and the more affectionate to our Service, we imparted to her both our good and ill Fortune, that we might accuſtom her to rejoice with us in our Proſperity, and ſhare our Sorrow in Adverſity. We endeavoured likewiſe to make her the more hearty to our Intereſt, by concealing nothing from her, of all that we had; and whatever we happened to get, we never failed to give her ſome ſmall Part of it. We excited in her a Love of Juſtice, by ſhewing more Kindneſs to the good than the ill Servants, not only in the Rewards we gave them, but in ſuffering them likewiſe to live more at their Eaſe: And thus it was that we treated her, whom we had appointed to be the chief of our Servants.

Beſides, *Socrates*, I told my Wife, That all theſe Precautions would be to no Purpoſe, unleſs ſhe were very diligent to preſerve that Order which we had eſtabliſhed. I let her know, that in well-regulated Cities, the Citizens thought it not enough, to have their Laws exquiſitely written; but that they appointed Perſons to ſee them executed; and who having an Eye over all, might ſhew Incouragement to ſuch as obſerved the Laws, and puniſh thoſe that tranſgreſſed them. I therefore adviſed her to conſider, That a Wife is the Governeſs of the Family, and that it is her Duty to ſee that all the Domeſticks perform what is commanded them; and that whenever ſhe thinks fit, ſhe muſt look over the Goods, to ſee that nothing be broken, loſt, or ſquandered away; even as the Governor of a Garriſon inſpects the

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the Magazines, to see that they be well provided and in good Order: That it was her Business to praise and reward those Servants who were diligent in their Labour, and behaved themselves well; and to blame and punish those who were idle, and remiss in their Duty: And that both the Rewards and Punishments ought to be proportioned to the Greatness of the Service, and the Heinousness of the Offence. I shewed her, That Servants are so far Partakers of the Goods and Possessions of their Masters, as they use them, take Care of them, or keep them; and the use of them is allowed to none, except only those to whom he, who is properly the Master of them, thinks fit to give it. Now all these Things belong properly to the Master of the Family: And it is wholly in his Breast to use them as he pleases. For to him who is to receive the greatest Advantage from the Preservation of those Goods and Effects, and the greatest Prejudice from their Dissipation, to him, I say, most properly belongs the chief Care of them. And how, said I, *Ischomachus*, did your Wife seem to take it? What did she say when you gave her these Instructions? She answered me, said he, *Socrates*, that I judged amiss of her, if while I instructed her to take Care of our common Concernments, I thought I laid a troublesome Injunction upon her: For it would have been indeed an Affliction to her, if I had told her that she need not concern herself with those Affairs, but that it was very pleasing to her to hear, that I expected she should take Care of them: For as Nature, says she, seems to have ordained, and made it more easy to a chaste and modest Woman to take Care of her Children, than to neglect them: So in my Opinion it is more pleasing to a modest Woman likewise to take upon herself the Care of the Houshold Furniture, and whatever else she and her Husband

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have, than it can be to neglect it: And that the rather, because the Little of our own is the more pleasing to us, because it is our own.

When he told me, said *Socrates*, That his Wife had answered him in this Manner, I said to him: Your Wife, *Ischomachus*, as you represent her to me, has certainly a noble Soul: I will tell you, added *Ischomachus*, other Things of her, that could proceed from nothing but a Mind truly Great: With what Pleasure she gave Ear to my Instructions, with what Chearfulness she obeyed them. You will, said I, oblige me extreamly: For I take more Delight in hearing described the Virtues of a living Woman, than I should do in seeing the Picture of the most beautiful Woman that ever *Zeuxes* drew. What you say, *Socrates*, puts me in Mind said *Ischomachus*, That having observed that she used to rub herself with Ceruss, to make herself appear more fair, and with Vermilion that she might seem more ruddy, than indeed she was: And that she wore high-heeled Shoes, to appear taller than Nature had made her; tell me, said I, my Wife, would you think me a Companion and Partner to share Fortunes with, more worthy of your Love, if I declared to you ingenously my whole Estate, and neither boasted it to be greater than it really is, nor hid any of it from you; or if I should endeavour to deceive you, by pretending my Estate to be much more considerable than really it is, and by shewing you counterfeit Money, and false Jewels, with Design to make you believe them to be true? Here almost interrupting me, I cannot, she said, believe you capable of such Deceit; for were you so false indeed, I could never embrace you with a good Will. How, said I, my Wife, embrace, did you say? And is there

That Women ought not to Paint.

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there then to be a Partnerſhip of Bodies between us, as well as of Eſtates? Spare me, ſaid ſhe, from anſwering that Queſtion. Tell me then, ſaid I, would you think me more worthy to be loved as a Partner that Way too, if by endeavouring to take Care of my Health, I preſented to your Embraces a Body truly ſound and vigorous, and if I had indeed a jolly Complexion: Or if I ſhould bedaub myſelf over with Paint, and beſmear my Cheeks with Vermilion; and by thus deceiving you, ſhould inſtead of my natural Skin, offer you only Paint to look on and to handle? Truly, ſaid ſhe, I ſhould not be ſo well pleaſed to handle Paint as your very ſelf; nor ſhould I look on the Colour that Vermilion might give you with half the Delight as on your own natural Complexion. Judge of me then, ſaid I, by yourſelf: And believe me too leſs delighted with the Colours of Ceruſs and Vermilion, than with the Teint that Nature herſelf has given you. And as the Gods have thought fit to ordain that Horſes, Rams, and Bulls, ſhould be moſt pleaſed with the Females of their own Species: So too the pure and unpainted Body of a Woman is moſt acceptable to a Man. Theſe Deceits may perhaps in ſome Meaſure impoſe upon Strangers, ſo that they may not perceive them: But if they, who are always together, think mutually to deceive each other, they muſt of Neceſſity be diſcovered: For either when they riſe out of their Beds, they are caught before they have had Time to daub themſelves over; or when they ſweat, or weep, or waſh themſelves, they betray their counterfeit Complexion. And what Anſwer, ſaid I, did your Wife make you? She anſwered not a Word, ſaid he, but from that Time forward, has never made Uſe of the leaſt Art to render herſelf more beautiful than Nature has made her. She aſked me indeed what Advice I could give her to

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Exercises and Works proper for the Mistress of a Family.

make her beautiful, and not only seem so: And the Counsel I gave her, *Socrates*, was this; not to be always sitting still, but with the Help of the Gods, like a Mistress to walk up and down among her Servants, to teach them what she knew better than they, and to learn from them what she might happen not to know so well: To overlook the Baker; to be present when the House-keeper delivered any Thing out; and as she went to and fro, to take Notice if every Thing were in its due Place. In doing this, I told her, she would both shew her Diligence, and would exercise herself at the same Time; and that it would be a healthful Imployment for her to wet the Meal, and knead it into Dough, to brush the Cloaths, and lay them by: That the doing of this would procure her a better Appetite to her Meat, keep her in good Health, and get her indeed a good Complexion. But Women who are perpetually sitting still, make it be believed of them, That they no less than others are obliged for their good Looks to Art and Deceit. And my Wife, *Socrates*, has continued ever since to live according to the Instructions I then gave her, and which I have now related to you.

* I Then told him, I thought I had heard enough of the Admonitions he had given his Wife, and of her Way of Living, which were highly to be commended in both of them: Now, said I, *Ischomachus*, let me know about what you imployed yourself as Master of the Family. I presume it will not be ungrateful to you to relate to me those Actions,

* Here begins the second Book of the Oeconomick of Cicero, taken from Xenophon, and containing Instructions to the Master of a Family concerning the several Works to be done without Doors.

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Actions, that have justly acquired you so great Esteem: And I for my Part shall think myself extreamly obliged to you, if you will let me hear from your own Mouth, how you have behaved yourself, to have every where gained the Character of a good and honest Man. I will very willingly, said he, *Socrates*, tell you what have been my constant Imployments, to the End that if you find any Thing amiss in my past Course of Life, I may be able by the Advices you shall give me, to amend it for the future. How is it possible, said I, that you should be the better for any Advice of mine, you who are already acknowledged by all to be a perfectly good and honest Man; especially too since the general Opinion of me is, That I am but an idle Tatler, and one that builds Castles in the Air: And what is alledged as the chief Evidence of my Folly seems to be this, That I am extreamly poor, and even next to a Beggar. And indeed, *Ischomachus*, this Character, which is meant me by Way of Reproach, would afflict me very much, but that not long ago I happened to meet the Horse of *Nicias*, that Foreigner who is lately come hither, and saw that a great Croud of Spectators were following him: And when I had heard what many of them said of him; I went to the Groom, who took Care of him, and asked him if that Horse had a great Estate? He looked earnestly upon me, and seemed to judge by the Question I asked him, that I was not overmuch burdened with Wit? However, he gave me this Answer; How, said he, can a Horse have any Estate at all? Hearing this I lift up my Eyes, well pleased to think, that even a poor Horse may be good, if Nature have given him a good Mind. Since therefore poor though I be, I may nevertheless be good, do not you disdain to relate to me your Course of Life, to the End I may make my Advantage by hearing it, and, if I can, begin from To-morrow to

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tread in your Steps: For even To-morrow is not too late to begin to be virtuous.

You rally me now, said he, *Socrates:* But yet I will inform you, how and in what Manner I endeavour to spend my Days. Now having, as I thought observed, That the Gods prosper not those Men, who are ignorant of what they ought to do, or careless in the Performance of their Duty; and that they partly grant Happiness to the Prudent and the Diligent; and partly not: I therefore begin by the Worship of the Gods; and beseech them to give me Health and Strength of Body, Honour in the Republick, the Love of my Friends, an honourable Safety in War, and an honest Gain and Increase of Riches. Hearing this, I asked him. Do you then, *Ischomachus*, give yourself any Trouble to grow Rich; and having already a great Estate, do you imploy yourself much in taking Care to increase it? Indeed, said he, that is my chief Care: For my greatest Delight, *Socrates*, is, to worship the Gods magnificently, to do Good to my indigent Friends, and to see, as much as in me lies, that this City do not want rich and noble Ornaments. All these Things that you mention, said I, *Ischomachus*, are truly great, and not to be performed but by a wealthy Man. And since there are many who cannot live without the Assistance of others, all such Persons will take it in good Part, if they are supplied with what is sufficient for them. But why should not they who have not only wherewith to support their Families, but can save something out of their Revenues, by Means of which they adorn the City and relieve their indigent Friends, why should not these, I say, be esteemed wealthy and great Men? And indeed these are the Men, who are universally honoured. But pray, *Ischomachus*, said I, continue where

What Ischomachus asked of the Gods.

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where you begun, and let me know how you preſerve yourſelf in Health, how you keep your Strength, and what Method you take to come off in the War with Safety and with Honour? For it will be Time enough afterwards to hear how you govern your private Affairs, as to the Conduct of your Eſtate. *Iſchomachus* anſwered: All theſe Things depend upon one another. For he, who hath eaten ſufficiently to ſupport himſelf, may, in my Opinion, ſo digeſt his Meat by Labour, as to preſerve himſelf in Health, and to acquire Strength of Body; and by exerciſing himſelf, he will, if he follow the Trade of War, be the better able to come off with Safety and Honour: And it naturally follows, That his Eſtate muſt increaſe, who is not ſlothful and remiſs, but diligent and careful in the Management of it. Hitherto, ſaid I, I think I take you right, *Iſchomachus*; You tell me that a Man, who takes Care to digeſt his Meat by Labour, who exerciſes himſelf, and is prudent in his Conduct, will find great Advantage in doing ſo. But what Labour do you uſe to keep yourſelf in Health, and ſtrong in Body, how do you exerciſe and train yourſelf up for War, what Courſe do you take to flow in Riches, ſo as to be able not only to do Good to your Friends, but to add likewiſe to the Strength and Ornaments of this City? Theſe are the Things, ſaid I, that I would willingly learn of you.

Exerciſe uſed by Iſchomachus.

I, *Socrates*, anſwered *Iſchomachus*, get up in the Morning, about the Time that I think I may meet with thoſe Perſons that I have Occaſion to ſpeak with: And if I have any Buſineſs to do in the City, I walk up and down to do it: If I have none there, one of my Servants leads my Horſe before me into the Country, while I walk on Foot thither, which I take to be a better Sort of Exerciſe than walking up and down in a Gallery.

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Gallery. When I am come into the Country, I go to ſee my Labourers, who are Ploughing, Sowing, or Planting my Land, or at Harveſt getting in the Fruits of it, and I inſtruct them to do all Things in the beſt Method I can: This I do on Horſeback, and accuſtom myſelf to ride in ſuch Places, as I ſhould be obliged to do in War, avoiding neither ſteep Aſcents nor Deſcents, neither Hedges, Ditches, nor Streams of Water: And all the while, I take all the Care I can not to lame my Horſe. After this my Servant carries back my Horſe, taking along with him whatever we have Occaſion for out of the Country: I return leiſurely on Foot, and when I am got Home, take Care to rub the Sweat from my Body, and dry myſelf: Then I take my Dinner, eating always moderately, and ſo as not to overcharge my Stomach. Indeed, ſaid I, this Method of yours pleaſes me very much: For what can be better than to uſe an Exerciſe that conduces to your Health and Strength of Body, That enables and makes you fit to undergo the Hardſhips and Fatigues of War, and all the While to be taking Care to improve your Eſtate? And that you attain theſe Ends, is evident: For we know that you enjoy a perfect Health, a robuſt Conſtitution of Body; that you ride as well as any Man, and that you are one of the richeſt Men in *Athens*. But while I behave myſelf thus, ſaid he, *Socrates*, I cannot exempt myſelf from the Calumnies of many of my Countrymen: Though you perhaps thought I would ſay, that I was upon theſe Accounts, called an honeſt and good Man.

How we ought to behave ourſelves to all Men.

This too, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*, I would enquire of you; what Courſe you take, that if there be Occaſion, you can at any Time anſwer for your own Actions, and call others to Account for theirs? Do you think, ſaid

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he, *Socrates*, that I am not perpetually meditating on this Matter: And that I cannot eaſily juſtify myſelf, ſince I do not the leaſt Injury to any Man; but to the utmoſt of my Power endeavour to oblige and do good to all: And do you not think that I take upon me to reprove others; ſince I often blame thoſe who are guilty of any Injuſtice to private Perſons, or to the Republick? If I find any one of my own Family accuſing another, or defending himſelf, I reprehend him I find to be in the Wrong: I complain of one Man to my Friends, and I praiſe another: I make it my Buſineſs to reconcile Relations who are fallen out, endeavouring to perſuade them, that it is much more for their Advantage to be Friends than Enemies. When we are ſummoned before the Judges of Military Affairs; I blame one, and defend the Cauſe of another, who is wrongfully accuſed; and we all of us complain, if any Man receive Honours that he has not deſerved: We praiſe thoſe who adviſe the Things that ought to be done, and reprehend thoſe that propoſe and counſel what is not convenient. And I very often, *Socrates*, paſs Judgment upon myſelf, what I ought to ſuffer, what pay by way of pecuniary Mulct or Fine. And how, ſaid I, do you plead in your own Defence? Very well, ſaid he, when it is of Advantage to tell the Truth; but if I muſt lie for the Matter, I cannot make the worſe appear the better Reaſon. I believe, ſaid I, you cannot make a Truth of what is Falſe; but do not I, *Iſchomachus*, detain you againſt your Will? Not in the leaſt, ſaid he, *Socrates*: For I will not leave you till we have finiſhed our Diſcourſe of all theſe Matters. You are very careful, ſaid I, not to loſe the Character of a good and honeſt Man: For though perhaps you have many Affairs that require your Attendance elſewhere; yet having promiſed to meet your Friends here, I find you will not be worſe than your Word.

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But neither, *Socrates*, said *Ischomachus*, are those Things, of which you were speaking neglected: For I have Bayliffs in all my Farms.

But tell me, said I, *Ischomachus*, when you have Occasion for a Bayliff, do you inquire for one who is capable of that Business; in like Manner as when you have any Work for a Smith, I know very well that you endeavour to imploy one who is skilful in that Trade; or do you instruct your Bayliffs yourself? I take Care, said he, *Socrates*, to instruct them myself: For since he is to look after my Affairs in my Absence, what Need is there he should know any more than I do? For if I am capable of ordering those Affairs myself, I can teach another what I know of them. He ought, said I, to be well affected to your Service and Interest, since by his Presence he is to supply your Place?

Of a Bayliff of Husbandry.

It is true, what you say, answered *Ischomachus*; and the first Thing I indeavour is, to create in them a Good-will to me and mine. Pray, said I, how do you teach whomsoever you will, to wish well to you and yours? By Liberality, said he, to them, whenever the Gods give us Plenty of any good Thing. You mean, said I, that all who participate of what you have, are by that Means excited to wish you well, and become desirous to promote your Advantage. Indeed, said he, I take Liberality to be the surest Means to procure the Good-will of all Men. But if any one, said I, *Ischomachus*, conceive an Affection for you, will that sufficiently capacitate him to take Care of your Affairs? Do you not observe, that though all Men, in a Manner, wish well to themselves; yet there are many, who will not give themselves the Trouble to obtain the good Things they desire? *Ischomachus* answered: Before I appoint any

How to gain the Good-will of others.

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any to be my Bayliffs, I teach them to be careful. And how, in the Name of the Gods, ſaid I, can you do this? For in my Opinion, Diligence cannot be attained by Inſtruction. Indeed, ſaid he, *Socrates*, no certain Method can be obſerved to teach all Men to be alike diligent. Who are they then, ſaid I, that can be taught to be ſo?

Firſt, anſwered *Iſchomachus*, you can never teach a Man to be diligent, who is intemperate in drinking: For Drunkenneſs cauſes a Forgetfulneſs of what ought to be done. And are they, ſaid I, who cannot abſtain from Wine, the only Perſons who cannot be diligent, or are there any others likewiſe? Not they only, ſaid *Iſchomachus*, for neither can ſuch be diligent, as cannot content themſelves with little Sleep: For he who is aſleep, can neither do what he ought, nor make others perform their Duty. And are theſe, ſaid I, the only Perſons who cannot be taught to be diligent, or are there ſtill any more? In my Opinion, anſwered *Iſchomachus*, they too who are addicted to Intemperance in Love, cannot be taught to imploy greater Diligence in any other Affair, than in ſatisfying their luſtful Deſires: For it is not eaſy to find any Occupation more pleaſing than the Purſuit of an Amour; or any Puniſhment more grievous than to be taken off from it, to be imployed about other Affairs. And therefore when I diſcover any of theſe Inclinations, I never appoint ſuch Men to be my Bayliffs, or to inſpect my Buſineſs of Husbandry: But when, ſaid I, you find any Man who is greedy of Gain, do you not think him unfit to be inſtructed in your rural Affairs? The contrary, anſwered *Iſchomachus*; for ſuch Men are generally the moſt proper, and the moſt eaſily inſtructed in that Buſineſs: For they need only be ſhewn, that Diligence is ever attended with Gain.

That Men addicted to any Intemperance cannot be diligent.

But

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But if you obſerve any, ſaid I, who are temperate in thoſe Things, in which you require them to be ſo, and only moderately deſirous of Gain; how do you teach ſuch to be diligent, as you would have them to be? Very well, ſaid he, *Socrates*: For when I ſee any who are careful in their Buſineſs, I not only commend them, but endeavour to ſet ſome Mark of honourable Diſtinction upon them: But all that are negligent, I rebuke ſeverely both in Words and Actions. Tell me then, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*; is it poſſible for one who is negligent himſelf, to make others diligent? By no Means, ſaid *he*; no more than a Man, who knows nothing of Muſick, can make others Muſicians: For it is very difficult to learn to do any Thing well, if the Maſter inſtruct you not aright: Thus too, when the Maſter gives the Example of Negligence, it is hard for a Servant to become diligent: In a Word, I think I never took Notice that the Servants of a laviſh Maſter were thrifty: I have indeed ſeen the Servants of a careful Maſter of little Service to him; but at the ſame time, they were rather a Prejudice than an Advantage to his Service. And the Anſwer of a certain Barbarian ſeems to me to be very true, and much to our preſent Purpoſe. The King had got an excellent Horſe, and deſired to have him fat as ſoon as poſſible: He aſked therefore one who was very ſkilful in Horſes, what would make a Horſe fat ſooneſt: And it is reported that he anſwered, The Eye of the Maſter. In like Manner, in my Opinion, *Socrates*, the Eye of the Maſter is of the greateſt Moment in other Things, and is the Reaſon that they are beſt done likewiſe. And when, ſaid I, you have thoroughly inculcated into any one to be diligent, will he then be

Servants behave themſelves after the Example of their Maſters.

The Eye of the Maſter uſeful in all Things.

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be fit to be truſted with the Care of your Affairs; or muſt he learn any thing elſe to capacitate him to be a good Bayliff? Yes indeed muſt he, anſwered *Iſchomachus*, for he muſt underſtand beſides the ſeveral Works that ought to be done, and how, and when each of them: For without this Knowledge, a Bayliff can be of no more Uſe than a Phyſician who indeed takes Care to viſit his Patient every Morning and Evening, but knows not what is fit to be done in order to his Recovery. And if he have learnt, ſaid I, how the ſeveral Works are to be done, is any thing elſe requiſite in ſuch a Man, to make him a good Bayliff? Indeed, ſaid he, he ought beſides to learn how to command the Labourers. Do you then, ſaid I, inſtruct your Bayliffs, that they may be fit to command? Truly, I do, ſaid *Iſchomachus*. How, ſaid I, do you teach them the Way to govern others? The Method I obſerve, ſaid he, in this Matter, is ſo vulgar, that perhaps when you hear it, you will laugh at me. Certainly, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*, it is a Thing not to be laughed at: For it is evident that he, who can make Men fit to command others, can teach the Doctrine that a Maſter ought to obſerve, and conſequently can inſtruct a King: You therefore who can do this, are ſo far from deſerving Laughter, that you juſtly merit the greateſt Praiſe.

Iſchomachus replied: The other Animals, *Socrates*, are taught Obedience by two ſeveral Means: Partly, by being puniſhed, when they will not obey; partly, by being rewarded, when they obey with readineſs: Thus Colts are taught to obey thoſe that break them, by being treated with Kindneſs when they are gentle and obedient to the Bridle; but when they are ſtubborn and reſty, they are made to feel ſome Uneaſineſs, till they ſubmit to the Will of the Rider.

What a Maſter muſt do to make his Servants obey him.

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Rider. Thus Dogs likewiſe, though they are much inferior to Man in Underſtanding, are nevertheleſs brought to run round in a Ring, to tumble over upon their Heads, and to ſhew many other Tricks by the like Method: For when they obey, we give them ſomething to eat, and make much of them; but when they will not do what we deſire, we beat them. Now Men may be rendered more obedient by Diſcourſe and Reaſoning, if we demonſtrate to them that it is for their Advantage to obey. And the ſame Diſcipline which ſeems to be that we uſe with Beaſts, will conduce very much to make Servants obedient: For if you gratify their Deſires in eating and drinking, you will gain a great Power over them. Ambitious Inclinations are likewiſe encouraged by Praiſe: For the Minds of ſome are no leſs thirſty of Praiſe, than others are greedy of Meat and Drink. For theſe Reaſons, when I give Inſtructions to thoſe, whom I deſign to appoint to be my Bayliffs, and to overſee my rural Affairs, I obſerve in Effect the ſame Method towards them; For I take Care that the Shoes and Cloaths that are to be given to my Labourers, be not all of the like Make or Value; but ſome better, ſome worſe than others, that I may beſtow the beſt on thoſe that behave themſelves beſt; and the worſt on the worſt Servants. For methinks, *Socrates*, I perceive a great Affliction in the Minds of good Servants, when they obſerve that they work better than others, and nevertheleſs receive the ſame Rewards with thoſe who will not take Pains, nor undergo any Danger, when Occaſion requires. Wherefore, I by no Means ſuffer the Good and Bad to be alike rewarded; but commend my Bayliffs, when I ſee they have diſtributed the beſt to thoſe that have beſt deſerved them; but if I perceive that through Favour or Partiality any undeſerving Servant have received the beſt Rewards, I paſs it not over, but chide the unequal Bailiff, and endeavour

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endeavour to shew him that he ought not to do so, even for his own Interest and Advantage.

Tell me in the next Place, said I, *Ischomachus*, if when you have taught a Man to command others, so that he can make them obedient to him, you then look upon him to be perfectly qualified for the Office of a Bayliff; or will he want any other Qualifications, besides those you have already mentioned? He must besides, said *Ischomachus*, abstain from converting to his own Use, the Goods that belong to his Master, and take nothing from him by Stealth: For if he who hath in his Hands the Fruits of the Land, and other Effects of him whom he serves; embezzles and makes them away to his own Use, what will all his Care in Husbandry avail his Master? Therefore, said I, you must teach him to be Just likewise. *Ischomachus* replied: That too is absolutely requisite: And for this Reason I observe some Maxims, partly of the Laws of *Draco*, partly of *Solon*, by which I endeavour to make my Servants honest and just to me. Now those Legislators seem to me to have made many Laws that tend to the advancement of Justice: For they have ordained, That they who are convicted of Stealing, shall be fined, thrown into Chains and punished with Death: And this these Laws prescribe, to the end the Thief may not enjoy the Advantage of what he hath unjustly taken from others. By observing therefore some Things in these Laws, and others that are in the Laws of the Kings, I endeavour to make my Servants honest in the Administration of the Goods they have in their Hands: For the Laws of *Draco* and *Solon* only appoint Punishments for Offenders: But the regal Laws do not only punish the Unjust, but order the Just to be rewarded: Whence it comes to pass, that many who are Unjust, especially if they are greedy of Gain, when they observe that the Just become

Fidelity requisite in the Bayliff.

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become the richer becauſe they behave themſelves juſtly, refrain from committing any Injuſtice. But when I obſerve any, who, though they receive Favours and Benefits, nevertheleſs act unjuſtly; I throw them off as Men of inſatiable Avarice, and have nothing more to do with them. On the other Hand, thoſe whom I find not only to be the more careful to do well, becauſe they are the better uſed, by Reaſon of their Honeſty, but to be deſirous likewiſe to gain my Eſteem; I treat like freeborn Perſons, and not only reward them with Gifts, but ſhew them Reſpect and Honour, as to good and honeſt Men. For a Man deſirous of Honour ſeems to me, *Socrates*, to differ from one greedy of Gain in this, that when there is Occaſion, he is willing to undergo any Difficulties, to expoſe himſelf to any Dangers, and is always careful to abſtain from diſhoneſt Advantages. Now when you have ſo far prevailed over the Mind of any Man, that he wiſhes you to ſucceed in all Things, and is become zealous to promote your Intereſts; when you have inſtructed him beſides to know how to order every Thing to be done in the beſt Manner; when he knows how to command others, and makes a Conſcience of being Juſt and Honeſt in all his Actions, ſo that by his Diligence your Land brings you in as much Profit, as if you yourſelf took Care of it; nothing more can be deſired of him; and ſuch a Bayliff is an invaluable Treaſure.

But omit not, ſaid *Iſchomachus*, to tell me what you have already ſlightly hinted at; I mean, that it is of great Importance to know in what Manner every particular Work is to be done; for you told me that Care and Diligence will avail nothing, unleſs a Man underſtand what is needful to be done, and how. *Iſchomachus* replied: You now, *Socrates*, bid me teach you the very Art of Agriculture? I would know, ſaid I, how it comes to paſs, That Agriculture

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Agriculture enriches ſome that are ſkilful in it; and ſuffers others, who are not ſo knowing, to live all their Days in Want, even though they apply themſelves to it with the utmoſt of their Care and Induſtry. To this Purpoſe, ſaid he,

Agriculture is a noble Art.

Socrates, I will now take Notice to you, of the Generoſity, if I may ſo call it, of this Art to Men.

For why may not that be ſtiled Generous and Noble, which is moſt uſeful, moſt pleaſant to practiſe, moſt honourable and acceptable both to the Gods and to Men; and, beſides all this, moſt eaſy to learn? We call thoſe Animals generous, which, though they are beautiful, ſtrong and uſeful, are nevertheleſs tame and gentle to Men. I think, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*, I ſufficiently underſtand what you have been telling me concerning the Manner of inſtructing a Bayliff: For I ſuppoſe I have learnt, how to behave myſelf towards him, ſo as to create in him a Deſire of my Welfare: What I am to do to make him diligent, fit to govern others, and juſt in all his Actions. But you were ſaying, That he who would manage rural Affairs as he ought, muſt learn what Works are to be done, and how, and when to do each of them: Now in my Opinion, you have not been particular enough in theſe Matters: For what would it ſignify to ſay, That he who would be able to write what is dictated to him, and to read what he has written, muſt learn to know the Letters; for all I am taught by this is, that he muſt know the Letters; but no Man knows the Letters one Jot the more for this Inſtruction. Thus too I am fully convinced, that he who would take Care of rural Affairs aright, muſt underſtand Huſbandry: But though I know this, I am never the more advanced in the Knowledge of that Art; and therefore if I ſhould undertake to practiſe it, I ſhould methinks be like the Phyſician who went indeed regularly to viſit his Patients,

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Patients, but knew not what was proper for them to take: To the End therefore that I may not be like him, teach me the ſeveral Works of Agriculture.

Agriculture is more eaſy to learn than the other Arts.

Agriculture, ſaid he, *Socrates*, is not ſo hard to learn as the other Arts; which take up many Years of the Learner's Life, before he can practiſe them ſo as to get a Livelihood by them: But partly by looking upon the Labourers, partly by Inſtructions by Word of Mouth, you may ſoon know enough of Agriculture to teach it to another, if you pleaſe. And I believe you are not ignorant, That you already know a great deal of it. Now all other Artiſts take Delight to conceal, in ſome Meaſure, the Secrets of their Art: But a Peaſant, who is ſkilful in Planting, is pleaſed to have Lookers-on: And ſo is he who ſows the Corn as he ought: And if you examine him concerning any Thing that ſeems to be well done; he will hide nothing from you of the Method he obſerved in doing it: And thus, *Socrates*, in regard even to Civility, Agriculture ſeems to make thoſe who follow that Occupation, better-mannered, and more frank and open-hearted than others. You begin, ſaid I, by an Introduction ſo alluring, as will charm your Hearers to Attention: And becauſe it is honourable to learn it, be you the more willing to teach me: Nor will your Inſtructions be any ways diſhonourable to you; though indeed it is a great Shame in me, to be ignorant of theſe Affairs; eſpecially ſince they are ſo uſeful.

* IN the firſt Place, ſaid he, *Socrates*, I will ſhew you, That what they who talk much of Agriculture,

* Inſtructions concerning Agriculture. Here Cicero begins the 3d Book of his Oeconomicks taken from Xenophon. Servius.

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culture, but never practiſe it, pretend to be very difficult, has no great Myſtery in it; I mean, to know the difference of Soils: For ſay they, He who would till his Land with Succeſs, ought firſt to know the Nature of the Soil. And they are in the right, ſaid I, to ſay ſo: For he who has not diſcovered what the Soil will bear, cannot, in my Opinion, be certain, what Seeds it will be beſt for him to ſow, nor what Plants it will be moſt proper to ſet. We may know, added *Iſchomachus*, what any Land will bear, and what it will not, if we take Notice of the Fruits and Trees. And when a Man once knows the Nature of the Soil, it will not be expedient for him to endeavour to force his Land to bear what naturally it will not. For by Sowing and Planting any Thing elſe he will not have ſo large a Crop, as of what the Soil will willingly produce, and bring to Maturity: But if through the Sloth and Lazineſs of the Owner it cannot declare its Strength, the true Nature of it may more certainly be known by the adjoining Grounds, than by inquiring of the Neighbours. And even though it be uncultivated, it yields Tokens of its Nature: For that which produces wild Fruits that are fair and large, will, if it be tilled, bear planted Fruits of the ſame Kind that are large and fair likewiſe. And thus they, who are not perfectly ſkilled in Agriculture, may diſcover the Nature of each Soil. Methinks, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*, you have ſufficiently inſtructed me in this Matter, ſo that I need not abſtain from Agriculture, ſuſpecting that I cannot diſcover the Nature of the Soil. For I call to Mind what the Fiſhermen are wont to do; who, when they are following their Buſineſs at Sea, neither ſtand ſtill to look upon the Land, nor go ſlowly forward, but ſail ſwiftly coaſting along the Shore; yet when they ſee the Fruits the Country bears, they

Of the difference of Soils.

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ſcruple not to give their Opinions of the Goodneſs or Badneſs of the Soil; but blame one, and praiſe another: And thus I ſee that they ground their Judgment of the Goodneſs of a Soil on the ſame Reaſons as do the ſkilful Husbandman. Upon what Point then, ſaid he, *Socrates*, would you have me begin to diſcourſe to you of Agriculture? for I plainly ſee that I am going to inſtruct you concerning the Culture of the Ground, who know the moſt that belongs to it as well as myſelf. I ſhould be glad, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*, firſt to know this; In what Manner it is beſt to till the Earth, in order to have the moſt plentiful Crop of Wheat or of Barley?

I need not tell you, ſaid he, That the Fallow Land muſt be prepared for Sowing? I know it muſt, ſaid I. What think you, continued he, of beginning to plough it in the Winter? I anſwered: It will then be too wet and miry. Do you think then it ought to be done in the Summer? No, ſaid I; for it will then be ſo hard that the Cattle will ſcarce be able to turn it up. Perhaps then, added he, we ought to begin this Work in the Spring. That Seaſon, ſaid I, ſeems to be the moſt proper, becauſe the Ground is then the moſt eaſy to move and work. Nay more, ſaid he, *Socrates*; the Graſs and Weeds being then turned upſide down by Ploughing, grow rotten, and ſerve in ſome Meaſure to manure and dung the Ground: But it is not yet Time to ſow the Seed, if you expect it to produce a plenteous Crop: For in my Opinion, to make the Fallow perfectly good, it ought to be cleared of all Manner of Weeds, and lie a while baking in the Sun. I anſwered; I agree with you in all this. And do you think, ſaid he, That this can better be done, than by turning the Earth often in

In what Seaſon it is beſt to plough.

How to prepare the Ground for Sowing.

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in the Summer? I know for certain, That there is no better Way to kill the Weeds, and Roots, and to have the Soil baked by the Sun, than by ploughing it about Midsummer, and even in the Heat of the Day: And if the Fallow be prepared by digging it, the Labourers ought to clear it of Weeds and Roots. They ought, said I, to throw them on the Surface of the Ground to dry and wither there, and to turn the Earth so, that the Sun may scorch and bake the crude Parts of it. Methinks, said he, *Socrates*, we seem to agree in Opinion concerning the Fallow? I answered: We certainly do.

When it is best to sow the Ground.

Concerning the Time to sow the Corn, do you not, said he, *Socrates*, take that to be the most proper, which has been approved by the Practice of former Ages, and which even all Men in our Days find by Experience to be best? * For when Autumn comes, they all look up to God, to send them seasonable Showers that they may sow their Corn. All Men, said I, *Ischomachus*, agree in this, That by their Good-will they would never commit the Seed to the Ground when it is dry. For they who sow before God has commanded them, have been forced to struggle with many Inconveniencies, and seldom have a plenteous Crop. Therefore, said *Ischomachus*, all Men are agreed in Opinion upon this Matter. We ought, said I, to agree in the Things that God himself teaches us: For Example: All Men think it best to go thicker cloathed, if they can, in the Winter, than in the Summer: And in that Season all Men make Fires, if they have Fuel. But many, said *Ischomachus*,

Cicero interprets this to be in the Rains that fall in November.

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* Pliny l. 18. c. 25. says, That Xenophon teaches that Men ought not to sow their Corn 'till God has given them a Token to do so.

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chus, differ in this, *Socrates:* Whether it be beſt to ſow late, or early, or between both. God himſelf, ſaid I, ſends us not all Years alike: One proves beſt to ſow early, another late, another between both. And are you, *Socrates*, of Opinion, That any one of theſe Seaſons is to be made choice of before the other, whether a Man ſow much, or but a little Seed; or would you have him begin very early, and continue to ſow very late? I anſwered: In my Opinion, *Iſchomachus*, it is beſt to have a Share in the whole Seaſon: For I think it much better always to have as much Wheat as is neceſſary, than at one Time too much, at another not enough. You are then of the ſame Opinion, ſaid he, *Socrates*, with me in this Matter likewiſe, and thus you, who pretend to learn, have made a right Judgment of this Affair, even without any Aſſiſtance from me, who have taken upon me to inſtruct you.

How to ſow the Corn.

But is there not, ſaid I, a different Method to be obſerved in Sowing the Seed? Let us, ſaid he, *Socrates*, conſider this Point alſo. And firſt I ſuppoſe you are not to be told, That it muſt be thrown out of the Hand. I have, ſaid I, ſeen them do ſo. But ſome, ſaid he, can ſcatter it equally, and others cannot. That, ſaid I, proceeds from want of Practice: For neither can a Choir of Muſicians keep Time with one another, unleſs they have been uſed to play in Concert. You are in the right, ſaid *Iſchomachus*. But one Soil is thinner and more light, one thicker and more heavy than another. What do you mean? ſaid I: Do you call that Soil thin and light, which is poor and weak; that thick and heavy, which is rich and ſtrong? He anſwered: You have ſpoke my Meaning: And therefore I aſk you, whether you would ſow more Seed in one of them, than in the other, or both of them alike? Indeed, ſaid I, I uſe to put more Water into

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into ſtrong Wine than into weak; and when I have Burdens to carry, to lay the heavier Load on the ſtronger Man: And if a great many Men were to be maintained, I ſhould think it juſt, that they ſhould keep moſt, who had the greateſt Eſtates. But tell me if a weak Soil be made ſtrong, muſt we ſow it the thicker; in like Manner, as we lay a heavier Load upon a Beaſt that is grown ſtrong, than we did on the ſame Beaſt, when he was weak? Then *Iſchomachus* laughing, ſaid: You are merry now, *Socrates:* But this I would have you know: After you have ſown the Seed, if there fall much Rain to nouriſh the Ground, ſo that the Corn comes up very thick, it will do well to turn it again with the Plough; for that will be as Food to the Soil, and make it get Strength as if it were dunged anew. But if you ſuffer your Land to bring to Maturity all the Corn that ſprings from the Seed, it will at length grow weak, and ſcarce be able to bear much Corn; even as a weak Sow can ſcarce nouriſh a Litter of many Pigs. I replied: According to this Inſtruction, *Iſchomachus*, the Land that is poor and weak ought not to be ſown thick. True, ſaid *Iſchomachus:* and you confeſs it to be ſo, by ſaying you are wont to lay the lighteſt Burden on the weakeſt Beaſt.

But why, ſaid I, do you uſe Weeding-hooks in your Fields of Corn? You know, anſwered *Iſchomachus*, that there falls a great deal of Rain in the Winter. Now ſuppoſe that ſome Corn, by Means of thoſe great Rains, is covered with Mud, and on the contrary, that the Earth is waſhed away from the Roots of other; beſides, that much wet Weather produces Weeds, as it is wont to do, that grow up with the Corn, and choak it. It is certain, ſaid I, That all this may happen. And do you not think,

Care to be taken of the Corn after it is come up.

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ſaid he, That in any of theſe Caſes, the Corn wants ſome Aſſiſtance? Moſt certainly. And what would you do, ſaid he, to help the Corn that is covered and oppreſſed with Mud? I would, ſaid I, gently ſtir, and lighten the Earth. What, ſaid he, when the Roots are bare, and appear above Ground? I anſwered; I would ſprinkle them over with Earth. What if Weeds ſpringing up with the Corn, choak it, and rob it of its Nouriſhment: As Drones, that are wholly uſeleſs, take from Bees the Honey they have laboured, and laid by for their own Support? I anſwered: That the Corn may be the better fed, thoſe Weeds muſt be killed; in like Manner as it is of abſolute Neceſſity to drive the Drones from the Hive: And I ſuppoſe that for this Purpoſe you make uſe of Weeding-hooks. We do ſo, ſaid *Iſchomachus*. But I am reflecting, ſaid I, of what great Force it is in all Sort of Diſcourſe and Arguments to make uſe of apt and proper Similitudes: For by making mention of Drones, you have provoked me to Anger againſt the Weeds, much more than you did, when you ſpoke only of the Weeds themſelves. But the Corn, when it is ripe, muſt be got in: Therefore pray teach me the Method you obſerve in that Matter likewiſe.

How to cut down the Corn.

No doubt, ſaid he, but you underſtand this as well as myſelf: You know that the Corn muſt be cut down? I do ſo. And when you are about that Work, ſaid he, do you ſtand with the Wind, or againſt the Wind? Not againſt it certainly, ſaid I, for it would be troubleſome both to the Hands and Eyes of the Reapers to have the Stalks blow againſt them. Do you chuſe to cut it near the Ear, or cloſe to the Ground. That, ſaid I, is according as the Corn is in Height: For if it be ſhort, I would cut it the lower, that I might have

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have the more Straw: But if it be high, I think it is beſt to cut it about the Middle of the Stalk, that neither the Threſhers nor the Winnowers may have a needleſs Labour: Beſides, I believe, That the Stubble that is left, will, if it be burnt, and mixt with Dung, help to mend the Ground. You ſee, ſaid he, *Socrates*, That I have taken you in the very Fact; for you know as much of Harveſt as I do.

It ſeems ſo, ſaid I: But I have a Mind to know whether I underſtand any thing of Threſhing likewiſe. You know, ſaid *Iſchomachus*, that we make uſe of Cattle to tread out the Corn; that under the Name of Cattle are comprehended Oxen, Mules, and Horſes: And you believe that theſe Cattle know nothing of the Matter, but only trample the Corn as they are driven about. How, ſaid I, ſhould Cattle underſtand any thing of what they are doing? To whom then, ſaid he, belongs the Care to ſee that the Corn be trod equally, and in all Places alike? No Doubt, ſaid I, to the Threſhers: For by turning, and always putting under their Feet what is not yet trod, they carry on the Threſhing equally and in good Order, and do their Buſineſs the ſooner. You ſee now, ſaid he, that you underſtand this Part of Husbandry as well as myſelf. Of Threſhing the Corn.

After this, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*, we ſeparate the Wheat from the Chaff; and this we call winnowing or fanning the Corn. Tell me then, *Socrates*, ſaid *Iſchomachus*, do you not know, that if you begin this Work, in that Part of the Floor where the Wind comes in, the Chaff will blow all over the Floor? It cannot, ſaid I, but do ſo. And therefore, ſaid he, it will fall among the Corn. It will then, ſaid I, be beſt, ſo to order the Matter, that the Chaff may be carried over the Corn, into the void Part of the Floor. Suppoſe, Of winnowing the Corn.

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ſaid he, we ſhould begin to winnow in that Place, which is fartheſt from the Entrance of the Wind? It is plain, ſaid I, that the Chaff will then be blown where it ought to be. But, continued he, when you have winnowed and cleared the Corn to the middle of the Floor, will you leave it ſpread there, and continue to winnow the reſt, or will you firſt lay aſide that which is already fanned? I would, ſaid I, lay that aſide in a Heap by itſelf; otherwiſe the Chaff of the other would fly among it, and thus I ſhould be obliged to fan it over again. Indeed, ſaid he, *Socrates*, you underſtand the winnowing Part ſo well, that you are able to teach it to others. Truly, ſaid I, I was ignorant that I knew any thing of it. And therefore I am thinking that perhaps I am only ignorant likewiſe that I underſtand what belongs to the melting of Gold, that I can play upon the Flute, and draw Pictures, ſince I never was taught any of thoſe Arts, any more than Agriculture. Now, ſaid *Iſchomachus*, you ſee, *Socrates*, that I was in the Right, to tell you, that Agriculture is the moſt generous of all the Arts, becauſe it is the moſt eaſy to learn.

I ſee now, ſaid I, that it is ſo, *Iſchomachus*. Yet when I was beginning to talk to you of the ſowing of Corn, I knew not that I underſtood any thing of it. But does not the planting of Trees belong likewiſe to Agriculture? *Iſchomachus* anſwered: It does. How then, ſaid I, can I be thought to underſtand that Art, who know nothing of Planting? Have you, ſaid *Iſchomachus*, no Knowledge of it? How ſhould I, ſaid I, who know neither in what Sort of Soil it is beſt to Plant, nor how deep the Plants are to be ſet in the Ground; how much of them is to be buried, nor how to place them to the beſt Advantage to make them ſprout the ſooner. Come on then, ſaid *Iſchomachus*; and learn

Of the planting of Trees.

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learn what you know not. I know you have seen the Trenches, that are dug for the Plants: I have so, said I, very often. Did you ever see any that were above three Foot deep? I never, said I, saw any that were above two and a half. Have you ever seen any that were above three Foot broad? No, said I, I never observed any that were more than two. Did you never, said he, see a Trench, that was under a Foot deep? No, said I, never under a Foot and a half: For in digging the Ground, the Plants would be dug out, if they were planted no deeper. Observe, *Socrates*, said he, you are not ignorant, that we dig our Trenches not more than two Foot and a half deep. I cannot, said I, but have taken Notice of a Thing that I have seen so often. Can you, said he, by looking upon the Soil, distinguish whether it be wet or dry. I believe, said I, the Soil of the Mountain *Lycabettus* to be dry, and that of the Fens of *Phaleron* to be wet: And that whatever Soil is like either of those, is either wet or dry. Would you dig a deep Trench for Plants in a dry Ground, or in a wet. Certainly, said I, the drier the Ground is, the deeper ought to be the Trench. For if you dig deep in a wet Soil, you will find Water; and it would not do well to plant Trees in Water. I am of the same Opinion, said he: And you have hitherto seen how to make the Trenches, in which you are to plant the Trees. Now if you would have them shoot up very fast, do you believe that the Bud of the Plant will sooner pierce through a soft Earth that is newly tilled, or through a hard and untilled Soil? It is evident, said I, That it will sooner shoot up through a Soil that is cultivated, than through one that is not. It is best then, said he, to till the Ground from Time to Time: But do you think that the Plant will take Root, and spring up the sooner, if it be planted strait upright, or if that Part of the Shoot, that is

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in the Ground be placed obliquely, and like a Gamma laid down in this Manner (⌐). No doubt, ſaid I, it is beſt to plant it obliquely: For by that Means ſeveral Eyes or Buds will be under Ground; and young Shoots will ſpring up from each of them; as I obſerve that Branches ſhoot from Buds in the Bodies of Trees. And when many Twigs ſhoot out of the Earth, I take it that the Plant thrives apace. In all this, ſaid *Iſchomachus*, you and I are of the ſame Mind. Now tell me, whether you would lay the Earth lightly on the Plant, or preſs it down hard about it. I would preſs it hard, ſaid I; for otherwiſe the Earth would be ſo looſe, that the Rain would make it like Mud, and the Sun would dry it to the very Bottom: Thus the Plants would be in Danger of growing Rotten through too much Moiſture; or the Roots might be heated and withered, by Reaſon of the Dryneſs and Looſeneſs of the Earth. I ſee, ſaid *Iſchomachus*, by this Anſwer of yours, That you know what belongs to the Planting of Vines too, as well as I do. But, ſaid I, are Fig Trees planted in the ſame Manner? I think ſo, anſwered *Iſchomachus*; and all Sorts of Fruit Trees likewiſe. For why ſhould what is fit to be done in planting of Vines, not be proper in planting any other Sorts of Trees? But how, ſaid I, are we to plant Olive Trees? You aſk me this too, ſaid he, only to try me; for you know it as well as I do. For you ſee that the Trenches for Olive Plants are dug deeper than for other Trees, becauſe they are generally planted along the Roads. You ſee too that there are Stocks in all our Plantations: That we lay Dirt at the Roots of all the Plants. I own, ſaid I, that I ſee this generally done: And if you ſee it, ſaid he, is there any Thing relating to it, that you do not know? Are you ignorant that we lay a Pot-ſhard, or a Tile over the Dirt? I confeſs, ſaid

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ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*, I know all you have mentioned: And I am again thinking with myſelf, why when you aſked me in general, if I underſtood the Method of planting, I denied that I did: Nor indeed did I believe I ſhould be able to tell you the Manner of it. But when you begun to examine me particularly concerning it; I anſwered you, as you tell me, as well as you yourſelf could have done, who are eminent for your Knowledge and Skill in Agriculture: And when I reflect on your Way of Queſtioning me as to each Particular, I doubt whether Interrogation be not a Sort of Doctrine: For while you lead me through Things that I know, and teach me others like to them, and that I know not; you perſuade me, I think, that I know thoſe Things, of which I thought myſelf ignorant. And if I ſhould aſk you, ſaid *Iſchomachus*, whether Money were good or not; ſhould I perſuade you that you knew the Way to try it, and that you could diſtinguiſh between the true Coin and the counterfeit? And if I ſhould Queſtion you concerning Trumpeters, ſhould I perſuade you that you know how to ſound a Trumpet? If of Painters, that you could draw a Picture? and in like Manner of other Things of the like Nature? Perhaps ſo, ſaid I: Since you have perſuaded me that I am ſkilled in Agriculture, though I am certain that no Man ever taught me that Art. Not ſo, ſaid he, *Socrates*; But I told you before, That ſo great is the Benignity of Agriculture to Men, that it immediately makes them ſkilful in it, who but ſee it practiſed, or but hear the Method that is obſerved in the Practice of it: Nay, it gives us of itſelf many very uſeful Inſtructions: Firſt, the Vines, by climbing up the Trees, if any Trees are near them, ſhew us how we ought to prop them up. Then by ſpreading abroad their Leaves, while the Grapes

That Vines teach how to till them,

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are yet young and tender, they teach us, That to be much expoſed to the Sun is at that Time hurtful to them, and that they require to be hid in the Shade. But when the Time is come for the Grapes to be ripened in the Sun, they ſhed their Leaves to ſhew us, That the Fruit ought to be expoſed to the Sun, to help it to ripen the ſooner. And laſtly, by bearing at once ſome Grapes that are ripe, while others are yet green, it teaches us to gather the Ripe, in like Manner as we do the Figs as ſoon as they are come to Maturity.

I then aſk'd him this Queſtion: How comes it to paſs, *Iſchomachus*, ſince what relates to Agriculture is ſo eaſy to learn, that all Men know alike how they ought to practiſe it, that all too have not the like Succeſs in it: But that ſome live in great Plenty of all Things, while others cannot get themſelves Neceſſaries for Life, but are ruined by running into Debt? *Iſchomachus* anſwered me thus. I will tell you the Reaſon of this too *Socrates*: It is not the Knowledge or Ignorance of Agriculture in the Peaſants that is the Cauſe why ſome of them flow in Plenty, while others are oppreſſed with Want. And you have ſcarce ever heard it ſaid, that ſuch a Man's Land produced but little, becauſe his Corn was not ſowed as it ought, nor his Plants planted in good Order; nor becauſe he knew not what Soil was proper for Vines, and therefore planted them in a barren Earth; nor becauſe he was ignorant that he ought to plough his Fallow before he ſowed it, or that it is good to dung the Ground: But it is much more frequently ſaid: He had no Crop of Wheat, for he took no Care to dung his Land, nor in ſowing it: He had no Wine becauſe he took not Care in planting and tilling his Vines ſo as to make them fertile; he had no Oil nor Figs, for he uſed no Diligence

Why ſome thrive while others are undone by Agriculture.

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ligence to have them. Theſe are the Things, *Socrates*, in which Peaſants behave them differently, and therefore proſper not alike.

We ſee that even of Generals of a like Capacity to Command, ſome are better, ſome worſe than others, by Reaſon of their Diligence: For thoſe very things, which all of them, nay, even moſt of the common Soldiers, know are fit to be done, only ſome of them do, others neglect them: For Example; they all of them know alike, that when they are to paſs through an Enemy's Territories, it is beſt for them to march with their Troops in order of Battle, as much as the Country will permit, that they may be ready to fight if there ſhould be Occaſion; and yet though they all know this, ſome only take Care to do ſo, others not: They know that 'tis beſt to have advanced Guards and Centinels before their Camps, both by Day and by Night, and yet but few of them obſerve to do ſo, while others neglect it. There is ſcarce a Soldier to be found, but knows, that when he is to march through Defiles and narrow Paſſes, 'tis beſt to ſecure thoſe Poſts, before the Enemy have taken Poſſeſſion of them; nevertheleſs ſome only are careful to do ſo, others not. Thus all Men know that Dung is very uſeful in Husbandry, and ſee that it is produced in a Manner of its own Accord; yet how well ſoever they know how it may be procured, and how eaſily they may have Plenty of it, ſome take Care to provide themſelves with it, while others neglect to do ſo. God, who is Above, ſends us Rains, by Means of which all hollow Places become mooriſh, and the Soil itſelf produces ſeveral Sorts of little Shrubs and Weeds, of which he who is about to ſow his Corn, ought firſt to clear it: Now even theſe, when taken from the Ground, and laid in Water, produce ſomething that is very grateful to the Earth: For Weeds, and all other

Diligence uſeful in all Things.

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other things of the like Nature, when laid in Standing Water, turn into Dung. And all Men know the Remedy a Soil requires when it is either too wet for Sowing, or too salt for Planting: They know how to make Rills to drain away the Water; and to correct the Saltness of the Soil, by mixing it with others that are not salt, and with moist as well as dry: Yet some are negligent of all these Things likewise, while others are careful to practise them. But if a Man be wholly ignorant of what a Soil will bear, and can neither see any Fruit nor Plant it produces, and if he can meet with none can tell him the Nature of it, is it not much easier for him to make Trial of any Soil, than of a Horse, or a Man? For no Soil will deceive by false Appearances, but gives manifest Tokens of the Truth, and honestly shews what it can, or cannot bear. And the Earth seems to me to explore, and excellently well to make Trial of the Slothful and Industrious, by offering and requiring nothing, but what is easy to be learnt and known. For it is not with Agriculture, as with the other Arts; which Men, by pleading their Ignorance, may justly excuse themselves from following: But none are ignorant that the Earth, when it has received a Benefit, makes a grateful Return: And when it is cultivated by Agriculture, manifestly reproaches a slothful Mind: None fondly persuade themselves, that Men can live without the Necessaries of Life; and he who knows no other Art, by which he can get a Livelihood, and will not till the Ground; evidently discovers that he Means to get his Bread by cheating, stealing, or begging: Or else is wholly void of Reason.

He told me besides, that it imported much to good or ill Success in Agriculture, if a Man took Care to make his Labourers, of whom there is frequently no small Number, perform their Work within the limited Time; or if he neglected to do so:

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For a Labourer, who performs his Task in Time, is worth ten others: And one excels another in not leaving off before his Time: But that to permit them to work slothfully all the Day, delays at least one half of the Work: In like Manner as when two Persons set forward together on a Journey of two hundred Furlongs, one of them who makes Haste, gets sometimes to his Journeys End a hundred Furlongs before the other, though they are both young and in perfect Health: The Reason of which is, because one of them is mindful of the Business, for which he undertook the Journey; while the other loiters away his Time by Fountains, and in refreshing Shades, and by regarding every Thing as he goes along: Thus too in the Labours of Husbandry, there is a great Difference between those who do what is commanded them, and those who do not, but invent Pretences to excuse themselves from working, and get Leave to be idle. And to do our Work well, or to be careless in doing it, are as much different, as working hard is from being idle. They who are appointed to dig the Vineyards, are to take Care to clear the Vines of Weeds and Brambles: But if they slubber over their Work in so careless a Manner, that they grow more rank and in greater Abundance than before, may we not justly say, that such Labourers were better have been doing nothing? These are the Things that are much more prejudicial to a Family, than those pretended Ignorances, with which some colour their Neglects: Now since all the Expences must be provided for out of the Land, if it be not cultivated in such a Manner as to make it bring in Profit; what Wonder is it, if instead of flowing in Plenty, we find only Poverty.

But my Father, continued *Ischomachus*, practised himself, and taught me the most effectual Method, for those who will spare neither Pains nor Diligence

to

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to improve and get an Eſtate by Agriculture: For he never ſuffered me to buy any Land ready cultivated; but adviſed me to purchaſe only ſuch, as through the Neglect or Indigence of the Owners, was untilled, and leaſt ſtocked with Plants. And he was wont to ſay, That Land well cultivated was ſold at a great Rate, and that nothing could be got by buying it: He held beſides, That there is no Pleaſure in Things that afford no Proſpect of Advantage; but that whatever we enjoy that is capable of Improvement, affords the greateſt Delight: Nor is there any greater Improvement to be made of any Thing, than if a barren uncultivated Piece of Land be made fruitful. And indeed, *Socrates*, we have improved ſeveral Farms to that Degree, that they will now ſell for many Times as much as they would have done formerly. And this Invention, though it be of ſo great Value, is nevertheleſs ſo eaſy to learn, That though this be the firſt Time that ever you heard it mentioned, you go hence as knowing in it as myſelf, and can if you pleaſe, teach it to others. Nor did my Father ever learn it from any Man, or find it out by dint of Study; but by the Delight he took in Agriculture; and he often ſaid, That nothing pleaſed him more, than to purchaſe a Spot of Land, that would at once keep him imployed, and be an Advantage to him by improving it: For indeed, *Socrates*, he was, I think, of all the *Athenians* naturally the moſt fond of Agriculture, and a Country Life.

Hearing this, I asked him this Queſtion: Tell me, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*; did your Father keep all the Farms he improved; or did he ſell them, if he could find a good Price for them? He ſold them to be ſure, anſwered *Iſchomachus*: But ſo great was his Fondneſs of rural Labour, that he had no ſooner ſold one, than he bought another, that was uncultivated in the Room of it. I replied: You repreſent

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ſent your Father, *Iſchomachus*, to be naturally as much in Love with Agriculture, as ſome Merchants are greedy of getting a great Stock of Wheat: Inſomuch that wherever they hear there is Plenty of that Grain, they embark immediately, and ſail to buy it, even to the Countries that lie beyond the *Ægean*, *Euxin*, and *Sicilian* Seas. And when they have got as great a Quantity of it as they can, they bring it away with them, and that too aboard the ſame Veſſel in which they truſt their own Perſons. And though they have Occaſion for Money, they will not ſell it at the firſt Place they come at; but carry it where they hear it is in moſt Eſteem, and bears the higheſt Price, and there expoſe it to Sale. Now your Father ſeems to me to have been no leſs fond of Agriculture. To this *Iſchomachus* replied: You are in jeſt now, *Socrates:* Nevertheleſs, I take thoſe Architects to be no leſs in Love with Building, who ſell the Houſes they have built, and immediately build others. I proteſt to you, ſaid I, *Iſchomachus*; That I am of your Opinion, and believe that all Men love thoſe Things by which they hope to gain ſome Profit. But I am thinking, *Iſchomachus*, how excellently the whole Series of your Diſcourſe has ſupported the Argument you pretended to make good: For you took upon you to prove, That the Art of Agriculture is of all others the moſt eaſy to learn: And I am very fully perſuaded from all you have ſaid, that it is ſo indeed. No doubt of it, ſaid *Iſchomachus:* But as to the Art of commanding and governing others, which is common to all Actions; as well to Agriculture, as the Adminiſtration of the Civil Government, and of domeſtick and warlike Affairs, I agree with you, that ſome excel others in Judgment. As in Ships, that make daily Voyages at Sea, there are ſome Maſters, who by exhorting the Mariners, have found the Art to excite and ſtir them up to Work the Veſſel with

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with Chearfulneſs, and of their own Accord: While others who have not the Art to encourage their Crew, ſpend twice the Time in going the ſame Voyage: Beſides, the firſt of them get to the Port whither they are bound, and go aſhore mutually content and ſatisfied with one another: The Maſter praiſes his Sailors, and they their Maſter: The others come in lazily and diſſatisfied; the Maſter not only blames and bears Ill-will to the Seamen, but they hate and ſpeak ill of him likewiſe. In like Manner ſome Generals are different from others: For ſome of them behave themſelves ſo toward their Troops, that unleſs abſolute Neceſſity forces, they will neither undertake any Fatigue, expoſe themſelves to any Danger, nor obey the Commands of their Leader: Nay, they conceive a great Opinion of themſelves, becauſe they dare oppoſe him: Nor if the Army receive any Diſgrace, are they aſhamed or concerned at it. But divine, good, and ſkilful Generals, even though they have theſe very Troops under their Command, as well as others, carry themſelves towards them in ſuch a Manner, that they will rather die than behave themſelves cowardly, and think it honourable to obey, nay, take Delight in being obedient to the Orders of their Leader, willingly undergo all Manner of Fatigues, and readily expoſe their Lives to Danger. As ſome private Men are ſtirred up to have an Averſion to Idleneſs, and as we may obſerve in them as it were a created Deſire, a certain Fondneſs of Imployment and Labour: So good Generals have the Art to excite in their Troops an Emulation of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by ſome brave Actions, that they may be taken Notice of above their Fellows. And all Generals, whoſe Troops are thus affected towards them, become eminent Leaders in War: Not they, who have a greater Share

Difference between good and bad Generals.

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Share of Strength than the Soldiers they command; who are better ſkilled in throwing the Dart, in uſing the Bow, who have better Horſes, are better Riders, and being armed from Head to Foot, lead on the others, and charge at the Head of them: But they, who can win the Hearts of their Soldiers, and make them reſolve to follow them through Fire, or any other Danger. All Men allow thoſe to be the beſt Generals, whom all the Troops unanimouſly reſpect and obey: And as his Strength is indeed formidable, who has many Hands always willing to perform his Commands, ſo he too is indeed a great Man, who can atchieve noble Exploits, by Counſel and Prudence, rather than by meer Strength. And thus likewiſe in a Man's private Affairs, whether it be a Bayliff, who commands the Labourers, or the Maſter himſelf, whoever has found the Art to make them Work chearfully and be aſſiduous in their Labour, never fails to improve his Eſtate, nor to acquire a great Abundance of all Things. And indeed, *Socrates*, I ſhould wonder very much, if Labourers did nothing extraordinary for a Maſter, who overlooked them himſelf, and took Care to puniſh the Slothful, and to reward the Induſtrious and the Diligent: And he whoſe very Sight encourages them to Labour, and excites in them a mutual Strife and Emulation to outvie each other, which is of the greateſt Moment in all Affairs, has certainly a regal Diſpoſition, and is fit to command others: And as this is a Matter of the higheſt Importance in all the Actions that are performed by the Labour of Men, it is of abſolute Neceſſity in the Affairs of Agriculture: But I do not pretend that it can be learnt by barely looking on, or hearing it once repeated: On the contrary, I ſay it cannot be attained but by Study and Inſtruction, nor without a natural Diſpoſition, nor unleſs a Man be qualified for

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That to be able to command, is a Gift of Heaven.

for it from above: For to be able to command, and render Men willing to obey, is not, in my Opinion, a human Acquisition, but a Gift of Heaven; which is bestowed only on those who are initiated in the Mysteries of Prudence: But to oppress unwilling Slaves with Tyranny is, I think, given to none but those, whom the Gods have doomed to lead a Life like that which *Tantalus* is said to do in *Hades*, where he is eternally in dread, that he shall suffer Death a second Time.

The END of the fifth and last BOOK *of the* Memorable Things *of* Socrates.

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